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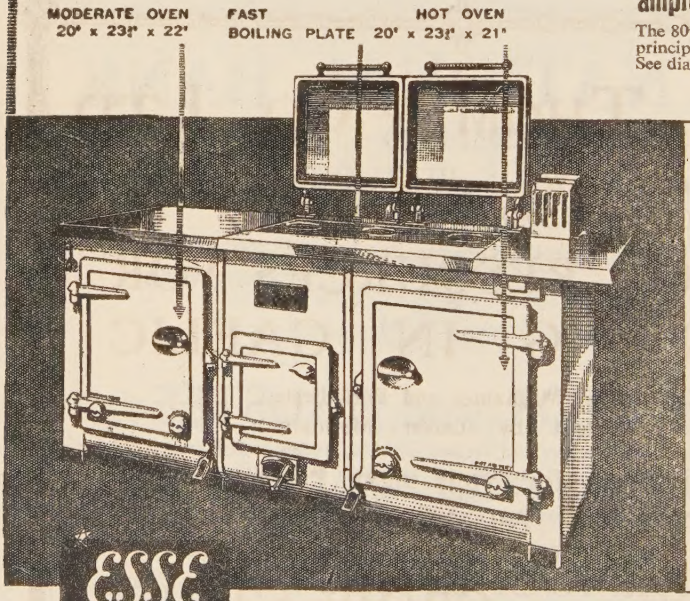

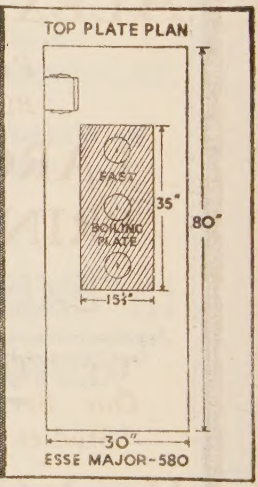

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BY REV. DENIS O'KEEFFE, M.A.
Professor of Ethics and Politics, University College, Dublin

THE political optimism of the early years of the twentieth century appears in a characteristic form in the late President Woodrow Wilson's book on *The State*: "If Aristocracy seems about to disappear, Democracy seems about universally to prevail. Ever since the rise of popular education in the last century and its vast development since have assured a thinking weight to the masses of the people everywhere, the advance of democratic opinion and the spread of democratic institutions have been most marked and most significant. They have destroyed almost all pure forms of Monarchy and Aristocracy by introducing into them imperative forces of popular thought and the concrete institutions of popular representation; and they promise to reduce politics to a single form by excluding all other governing forces and institutions but those of a wide suffrage and a democratic representation—by reducing all forms of government to Democracy."

The prophetical anticipations of the President seem rather ludicrous now. But at the time his book appeared such views were very widely held. The advantages of Democracy were obvious. In some form or other it had been adopted by the most advanced nations. It seemed to lie in the natural line of "progress"—an idea dear to the nineteenth century. And although the President's attempt at historical foresight may appear—as it was—more than a little rash, it would have passed at the time without serious criticism. The result demonstrates how difficult it is to forecast the course of history.

It is important to realise that this conviction of the superiority of democracy is altogether a modern thing. For centuries a similar conviction of the superiority of monarchy was prevalent in Europe. All the advanced countries were monarchical, and this concrete experience of the dominance

of monarchy seemed supported by *a priori* arguments of great weight. The first important modern writer to express some doubt as to the superiority of monarchy was Locke, and even he remains predominantly monarchist. Only in the late eighteenth century did a preference for republican institutions begin to appear. The parliamentary rebellion in England was episodic and merely served to reinforce the conviction of the dangers of democracy. How enlightened opinion felt about democracy in the seventeenth century can be gathered from a statement of Sir Thomas Browne: "If there be any among those common objects of hatred I do contemn and laugh at, it is that great enemy of Reason, Virtue and Religion, the Multitude; that numerous piece of Monstrosity which, taken asunder, seem man and the reasonable creatures of God; but, confused together, make but one great beast, a monstrosity more prodigious than Hydra. It is no breach of charity to call these Fools."

It may, perhaps, be thought that the Catholic tradition, often associated with the theologians of the sixteenth century but in reality going back to medieval times and ultimately derived from the Roman lawyers, was in its essence favourable to democracy. There is a sense in which this is true. The origin of social democracy really does lie in Christianity. In the genuine sense the Graeco-Roman world never realised democracy because it had no sense of the fundamental equality of men and no adequate grasp of personal dignity and personal rights. Ancient civilisation was founded upon a basis of inequality and of slavery. But the Christian roots of democracy lie much deeper than the political theory that all governmental power comes from God to the ruler through the people. It would be quite absurd to regard St. Robert Bellarmine or Suarez as upholders of democracy in the modern sense. I am aware that the attempt so to regard them has often been made. But it rests on a complete misunderstanding of their theories.

The roots of Christian democracy lie deeper. There is no specifically Christian theory of State organisation or of what may be called the mechanics of the State. But there is a

Christian theory of *society* and of the place which the State occupies in Christian society as a whole. Society is wider than the State. It includes the individual, the family, the state, the Church. The State is not, on the Christian view, a completely comprehensive or omnicompetent association. It exists, as the family exists, for certain definite ends, and its competence is limited by this reference. The State exists for the common temporal good of its members and has no other *raison d'être*. The individual is not utterly or totally subject to it. The individual and the family are both temporally and logically prior to the State, and they have inalienable natural rights with which the State cannot morally—although it may and does, immorally—interfere. Of course, for the legitimate purposes of the State the individual is subject to the State, and the good of the group is more important, where they are comparable, than the good of the individual. But the individual is not absorbed in the State, and there is an ultimate sphere of duty and of right in which he not merely may but ought, if necessary, to resist it. It is on this theory of natural rights that the Christian democratic idea of society rests. This is something quite different from the democratic organisation of the State. It is a democratic theory of society, not a democratic theory of government. A monarchical government or an aristocratic government may attempt to realise the Christian idea of society, and States organised as democracies have often, as a matter of history, acted in complete opposition to Christian principles. It is quite absurd—and obnoxious—to try to associate Christian theory with any one type of State organization. Governmental democracy is, in a definite sense, a phenomenon of modern history. And admittedly it may be argued that the Christian ideal of society is now most likely to be realised in States organized as political democracies. But it is quite obvious that the Catholic Church, in the long course of its history, has encountered all types of political organization; and it seems ludicrous to set up, as the Christian theory of the State, a theory which would condemn all these political systems as illegitimate usurpations. The Catholic Church is favourable to any type of political

system which is founded upon justice and endeavours to realise the common good.

Whatever value there may be in the discussion (going back through the centuries to the Greeks) of the best type of polity, it seems impossible to escape from the conclusion that governmental forms and systems of State-organization are relative. There is truth in Lord Salisbury's gibe that representative parliamentary institutions are unsuitable for Hottentots. In the early stages of political organization some type of monarchical organization is inevitable. And even if one is persuaded that democracy is the best form, it is obvious that, for historical or other reasons, it may be unsuited to peoples at a particular stage of political development or to peoples of a certain character. It presupposes in fact a very high stage of culture and a wide diffusion of education.

There is a certain vagueness in the use of the terms democracy and democratic. Aristotle regarded democracy as a debased form of State-organization corresponding to the genuine form, which he called polity. His celebrated division into monarchy, aristocracy and polity was not based, as is often supposed, on mere number. Number is accidental. Oligarchy is really government by the rich, polity government by the middle class, democracy government by the poor. Aristotle had already grasped the vast importance in the state of economic differences. It seems quite clear, similarly, that we cannot define modern democracy as government by the majority. If the essence of democracy lies in majority rule, it seems evident that the totalitarian states must be regarded as democracies. A recent writer has suggested that modern democracy takes two forms : plebiscitary democracy represented by the totalitarian States and representative democracy as embodied in the parliamentary governments. This is a *reductio ad absurdum*. History shows that the plebiscitary system has been one of the great bulwarks of tyranny. Apart from this, majority government of this type is usually autocratic. Its democratic features are a mere pretence.

Democracy as a system of government does nevertheless

imply some kind and degree of popular control over the conduct of State affairs. As with all elastic terms, it is extremely difficult to say how much control, but certainly much more than exists in the modern totalitarian countries. The celebrated principle "Government of the people by the people for the people" sounds pleasantly but has little definite significance. Government by the people in any intelligible sense is impossible in modern representative democracies. The direct democracy of the Greek City-States or of the smaller Swiss cantons was an approach to it. In the nature of the case executive power must be concentrated in the hands of a few persons, and democracy of the representative type lies in the indirect control exercised by the people over the executive. Bagehot suggested that the British system was in its essence "government by discussion." From free discussion, he believes, truth will somehow emerge. The discussion must be genuine, not a mere assertion on one side or the other of convictions irrevocably fixed. The opinions of the majority may ultimately prevail, but they will have been modified by the processes of criticism through which they have passed. Bagehot does not believe in the superiority of the opinions of the wise. The opinions of the wisest—if, by miracle, imposed on society—would stereotype the most monstrous error. The Platonic criticism of democracy, if we accept Bagehot's view, is not valid against "government by discussion." Plato, in effect, had made two points against democracy of the Greek type. Government is an art or skilled activity and therefore must be based on knowledge. Democracy is based on ignorance and is as a consequence inefficient. As in any activity which demands skill, only the trained expert can be effective, so in the most difficult art of government it would be fatal to trust to the opinions of the ignorant. And this is precisely what democracy, either direct or representative, does. Moreover democracy, in Plato's view, is peculiarly subject to the danger of corruption. It always turns out to be government by the poor at the expense of the middle class. Plato believes in the efficiency of knowledge and therefore in government by the wise.

Bagehot's position is somewhat complex. It is reminiscent of—although not identical with—the view of Protagoras (in Plato's dialogue) that government is not so much a matter of knowledge but rather a kind of flair, an instinctive or intuitive skill, something which defies exact analysis, which may be present in a stupid people like the Anglo-Saxon race, but absent in a clever logical people like the French. This racial psychology, although attractive and amusing, is apt to be question-begging and in any case is too complicated to furnish a basis for argument. Bagehot's ideal of government turns out to be not democracy but rather aristocracy with a modest democratic infusion, because he thinks that "government by discussion" is irreconcilable with complete democratic theory. It rests upon compromise, upon the party system and presupposes that no party is so wedded to its own opinions that it is not prepared to accept the views of the opposite party, if they happen to prevail. Bagehot opposed the extension of the franchise, because he thought that such an extension would give such power to the poor and ignorant as would render "government by discussion" impossible.

When we seek the causes of the decline of modern representative democracy, we are confronted with a problem of great complexity. This decline had already attracted the attention of observers before the European war. Most of the continental democracies had been set up on the British model. And it soon came to be realised that the optimism of the nineteenth century was mistaken. That a complicated system of government, which had become adapted through many centuries to British conditions, could be successfully transferred to a completely alien political and social environment was seen to be more doubtful than had been supposed. Political institutions which are admirable in one environment may survive with difficulty in another. It is difficult to gauge what can and what cannot be transferred in this fashion, how far one people may borrow the experience or the political wisdom of another. The belief that the supposed best system has merely to be adequately presented to people immediately to secure their enthusiastic allegiance is naive and mistaken.

It has often been pointed out (as by Mr. Irving Babbitt) that many modern democracies failed altogether to secure that type of leadership without which successful government is impossible. This is a central difficulty in any democratic system. The cynical attitude towards the professional politician is much too widespread to lack some foundation. Success in a democracy is so often the reward of cunning, of organized corruption and of ignorant self-assertiveness that it is not surprising that those who value dignified traditions are revolted by the realities behind the pretence of democratic systems. This is what produces the conservative reaction and explains the survival of the Tory mind. As Professor Saintsbury says : " The essential disgustingness of democracy to a born Tory cannot be uttered, though it might be spluttered." The ordinary electorate is no judge of political efficiency or superiority, and in any case it is not looking for the one or the other. It is a cardinal doctrine of democracy that all free citizens are equal and democracies have no technique for discovering peculiar merit.

From the Christian point of view a more fatal flaw in modern democracies came from the fact that they had grown up in alliance with a liberalistic and anti-religious philosophy derived from Rousseau and other thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Democracies were often, curiously enough, associated with a theory of state-absolutism and with a complete failure to recognise the rights of individuals, of the family, of subordinate associations and of the Church. It was soon realised that no tyranny is so bad as that of an artificial majority. And it should not be forgotten that if the authoritarian states have oppressed and robbed the Jews because of a racial ideology, many modern democracies had oppressed and robbed religious associations of their own nationals in virtue of a still more obnoxious philosophy. That a Christian society could be realised under modern democratic conditions seemed, as a result of experience, to be very doubtful.

The decline of democracy was accelerated by the war. The organization of states for war accustomed men's minds

to socialistic and authoritarian methods. Even before the war modern States were becoming more and more collectivist, and this process was greatly accelerated by the immense effort needed during the war years. Under such conditions democratic methods seem useless and the inefficiency of democracy comes to be realised. That all this had a certain psychological effect unfavourable to democracy may be admitted, even if one holds that democracy is much more efficient in the long run than any form of autocracy.

The menace of Communism is often regarded as the chief cause of the revival of autocracy in many European countries. And although this is sometimes disputed, it cannot be denied that Communism is one of the causes and that it has introduced a new orientation in politics. Mr. Harold J. Laski, in his recent book on *Parliamentary Government in England*, works out in an interesting way what he regards as the inevitable result, upon the future of the British system, of the present alignment of parties. His argument is partly economic and partly political. The British system was successful in the nineteenth century, because the governing classes in a period of expanding production were able to buy off the opposition of the masses by admitting them at intervals to a share in the wealth of the country. In a period of economic decline this is no longer possible. The parliamentary system was remarkably well-adapted to the purposes of capitalist democracy, but it rested on the " inarticulate " premiss that questions regarding the ultimate economic constitution of society could not be raised. The Liberal and Conservative Parties both accepted the same fundamental premisses. They were really one party with two wings, and members could pass from one to the other and back. Pre-war Socialism was Fabian and accepted broadly the same principles—and similarly the pre-war Labour Party. The whole political system rested on the possibility of compromise and on the fact that parties would not push their principles to logical conclusions. Only once did the system break down—over the so-called Ulster crisis. In recent times there have been two radical changes—the virtual fusion of the Liberal and Conservative Parties as a

party for the defence of private ownership of the means of production and the espousal by the Labour Party, now the alternative government, of the principle of the public ownership of the means of production. Hitherto the Labour Party has been weak and accommodating. And although there will be a strong temptation to a Labour government not to go to extremes, Mr. Laski thinks that this would be a fatal error. "The running of a capitalist society is best left to those who believe in it." "If the Labour Party means what its programme says, political parties now do differ about the foundations of society." Party warfare on the old terms is impossible. The House of Commons, in the light of all this, is "the characteristic expression of capitalist democracy in the period in which it is sure of itself." And the same is true of the legislatures in other countries—the United States of America, France and Scandinavia. The conclusion, presumably, is that the British and other systems must pass over either into Communism or into some form of authoritarian government.

If this theory is correct, the outlook for all democratic systems is very gloomy. It rests, however, on so many assumptions that one may well feel doubtful about it as a correct forecast of impending doom. It resembles, *mutatis mutandis*, President Wilson's confident forecast of the inevitable triumph of democracy. The economic basis of Mr. Laski's thesis is a development of the usual Marxian analysis. An inevitable economic breakdown might, no doubt, precipitate a political crisis. But the argument for such a breakdown is by no means coercive. The British political and social system has shown remarkable elasticity in the past. Mr. Laski does, no doubt, show that a new problem has arisen, but it is quite impossible at this stage to foresee that the historic British system is incapable of survival in its present form. The experience of the results of Communism and of autocracy elsewhere is certain to have a very sobering effect upon the minds of ordinary men.

Ultimately democracy, like any other system of government, must be judged by the kind of society it brings about or makes possible, by the life it enables individuals to lead.

It is not something intrinsically valuable. But if it can be shown that, in certain concrete conditions, it enables men more readily than other systems to lead the good life, then in such conditions it is preferable. This is all that can be said, and it is perhaps saying a great deal. There is much wisdom in Aristotle's conclusion that, of the imperfect types of government, democracy is likely to be the least objectionable. For human systems of government always are imperfect and politics is an acceptance of the second best. Utopias, as the name implies, are possible nowhere. There are no genuine arguments to demonstrate an intrinsic superiority in democracy. The theory of the supposed sovereignty of the people is quite indefensible. It collapses when confronted with the facts of history. Nor can we accept the conclusion that the people or the majority is likely to be right. Locke thought that majority rule followed logically from the social contract. In reality it is a convention, a makeshift which works well and ill. On complicated or novel problems the opinion of the majority is very likely to be wrong. M. Faguet remarks that universal suffrage " is an excellent thing. It is a source of information. When it recommends a course of action, it shows us that it is a thing which we must not do." Even the cautious formula of Aristotle is doubtful, that the opinion of a number of persons is more likely to be correct than the opinion of a single person no wiser than they. Majority rule is valuable, because it secures wide support for measures and because it is dangerous in the long run to exclude large masses of people from political power. Democratic government is not ideal. But it affords to these who are capable of working it with moderate efficiency the best guarantee of securing a free Christian society.

Denis O'Keeffe

AN OUTLOOK ON IRISH AGRICULTURE

SENATOR JOSEPH JOHNSTON, F.T.C.D.

THAT agriculture is of fundamental importance in the Irish economy is a proposition which commands universal assent. Over 50 per cent. of our gainfully occupied population derives its livelihood from agricultural production in one capacity or another. The numbers so occupied probably still exceed 600,000, mostly males, whereas the industries reviewed in the 1936 Census of Industrial Production occupy 158,000 persons, of whom nearly 25 per cent. are females.

Agricultural products constituted 76·5 per cent. of our total exports in 1931 and even in 1933 represented 66·8 per cent. of our total exports. The capacity of an industry to sell its products in an external market in competition with the world is an indication that the industry in question is one for which the resources of the country are better suited than for other industries which cannot sell abroad. The distribution of our human resources in such a way as to make the most of our natural resources is the only possible way of increasing the national wealth and the general standard of living to a maximum, and any policy which fails to conform to this economic test is a policy of economic impoverishment, whatever may be its social, cultural or strategic justification.

A moment's thought will convince anyone that persons can only engage in non-agricultural activities to the extent that other persons are able and willing to produce a surplus of food and raw materials over and above what they retain for their own consumption. In a primitive condition of agriculture and in some primitive countries today nearly everyone is engaged in agricultural production, because methods of production are so inefficient that it takes the labour of nearly all occupied persons to produce the bare necessities of life for all. Before commerce or industry can develop, agricultural efficiency must increase, and the net output per person

so engaged must in one way or another afford a surplus for the sustenance of the non-agricultural community. Hence, those whose main pre-occupation is the development of our "industrial arm" have very special reasons for making sure that the nation has a sound pair of agricultural legs.

It is true that in the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century a ruthless form of landlordism acquired the necessary surplus for the sustenance of a considerable non-agricultural community, not by raising the efficiency of agriculture but by robbing the peasant of every form of surplus over and above the barest means of subsistence. British land legislation has remedied this particular form of agrarian exploitation, but we have in our own day reproduced exactly the same economic effects by somewhat different methods.

In the normal operation of a free economy the agriculturist is induced to produce and sell a surplus by a series of semi-conscious economic considerations in which a comparison of relative prices plays an important part. These prices include the prices he must pay for implements, purchased animal feed, manures, etc. (which affect his costs) and the other prices he may expect to get for his produce (which help to determine his profits). If relative prices change in such a way that the former remain high while the latter are low, the farmer may find that he has nothing left for himself which might constitute an economic inducement to continue his now purely altruistic work.

It should be noted that even if the farmer has no money left to buy boots or clothes for his family, he will still have to sell a certain amount so long as he continues to pay overhead charges by way of land annuities, rates and mortgage interest. To the extent that he sells some portion of his produce instead of consuming it all in his own household, he continues to provide the economy as a whole with that necessary "surplus" without which it would collapse. Consequently, the efforts of the State to exact rates and annuities from impoverished farmers may be regarded as necessary to the stability of the national economy, but from the farmer's

point of view there is no economic difference between the exactions of a National Government and those still remembered exactions in which the minions of an alien landlordism played a prominent part.

The essence of all this is that relative prices are of the most outstanding importance to persons engaged in agriculture —or indeed in any profit-seeking enterprise. All prices payable for goods may be analysed into prices paid to the persons providing the several factors—labour, capital, etc.—which are combined in the production of goods. Consequently, relative wages in different economic occupations have an importance similar to relative prices of various types of goods. Changes in relative wages which bring gain to some sections of the community may impose an intolerable burden on other sections of the community. When the real income of the whole community is moving upward, some sections of it may outstrip others in the general advance without giving rise to difficult adjustments, but in other circumstances arbitrary variations of some wage levels may be disruptive of that wage-price relationship or equilibrium which seems to be a necessary condition of continuous and general prosperity.

The export industries of a country are in the very nature of the case those which might be expected to return the largest aggregate reward to the owners of the labour, capital, land, and enterprise who combine to carry them on. Under conditions in which external commerce is free and the incomes of *e.g.*, labour in country and town are left to be determined by mainly economic causes we should expect to find the incomes obtainable by labour in export industries governing the incomes obtainable by labour of the same grade in the "sheltered" urban occupations which cater only for the domestic market. In actual fact the money wage obtainable in the pre-war era by ex-agricultural labour in urban employment at home was not much above the agricultural wage level, though it was high enough to cause a gradual drift of such labour by way of migration to urban employment. Loss by emigration gives rise to other considerations than those of a purely economic order, and the Irish economist would

gladly subordinate his point of view to that of the statesman who could suggest some sure means by which an increasing population could be maintained in contented prosperity at home, even at the cost of slower economic gain for the international economy or of actual loss to such of our nationals as might have profited by emigration.

Apart from this consideration, the gradual drift from country to town which was characteristic of all progressive countries in pre-war days was occasioned by a notable superiority of money wages in available urban employment over the money wages of agricultural labour, though the superiority of real wages was in those days perhaps not quite so notable. In those days relative wages in town and country, at home and abroad, were such that urban employment was normally able to absorb the influx of ex-agricultural migrant and emigrant labour. The influx in question was a trickle rather than a flood. This trickle was quite consistent with an increase for a time in the absolute numbers of persons occupied in agriculture in the case of such countries as Sweden and the United States. The *proportion* occupied in agriculture in such countries tended to diminish even while the absolute number increased, and of course the total population of the countries in question was in those days increasing rapidly. In our case total population has been stationary with a slight declining tendency for about a generation, but the proportion of agriculturally to non-agriculturally occupied persons has for a long time been diminishing.

A relative diminution in the number of persons occupied in agriculture is an indication of increasing agricultural efficiency and is accompanied by a natural expansion in the home market in the case of countries of increasing total population. In the case of countries of stationary population the home market cannot expand by increase of total population but only by an increase in the general standard of production and living. In such a case, therefore, an absolute decrease in the numbers occupied in agriculture is likely to accompany an increase in the net output per head of agricultural producers and therefore an increase in their standard of living. Failing

an increase in the total population, the only way in which an existing agricultural population can be kept on the land while their total production and net output per head is increased, is by an *increasing* proportion of total agricultural output being sold at attractive prices in an external market. Consequently successful agricultural production for the export market is of vital importance to us under present circumstances. This does not rule out the possibility of *ultimate* industrial development and a consequent increase in urban population which will help to expand a desirable home market. It merely postpones it to a more convenient day. As a matter of fact a prosperous agriculture relying mainly on the export market will alone provide the conditions in which an industrial fabric may eventually be built up with some prospect of permanence. Industrial development in the U.S.A. and in Denmark is today far beyond the limit of our achievement. The relative importance of the export market for American and Danish agriculture has been decreasing; but if they had not had that vitally important market to rely on in the first instance, it is doubtful if they could have attained their present degree of prosperity and industrial development.

In our own case we have failed to expand total agricultural production and the proportion exported to such an extent as would check the drift from the land by an adequate increase in net output per head and consequent improvement in the real incomes and standard of living of all agricultural producers. As a matter of fact net output per head and the real income of our agricultural population has nevertheless shown a remarkable increase in the last 100 years. According to a Table contained in Colin Clark (*National Income and Outlay*, p. 246) the net output of Irish agriculture in 1837 was £28,700,000 (calculated at 1913 prices), 1,840,000 persons were occupied in its production, and the output per head was consequently only £15 12s. In 1867 net output had increased to £47,200,000, but the numbers occupied were now only 1,160,000 and the net output per head had increased to £40 14s. In 1908 total net output had fallen to £40,500,000; but as the numbers occupied were now only 820,000, net output per

head was £49 10s. These figures relate to Ireland as a whole and the prices are calculated in terms of the 1913 level. In 1926 net output per worker in agriculture in Saorstát Eireann is given as £101, if the income in kind consumed by the agriculturist is valued at retail prices. The gross output of agricultural products in 1929-30, 1934-35, 1935-36 and 1936-37 was, respectively, £62 millions, £39 millions, £42½ millions and £47 millions. Agricultural income is calculated by Professor Duncan in Appendix No. 7 of the Banking Commission's Majority Report (p. 452). Agricultural income is not quite the same as net output, but from these figures it appears that agricultural income per head of persons so occupied was about £90 in 1929 and rather less than £60 in 1932 to 1935. The inference is that the money value of total output as well as of net output per head have suffered a serious set-back in the years subsequent to 1929-30. The only way in which the economic effects of this catastrophe could be mitigated for the individual agricultural producer was by a wholesale flight to urban occupations at home or abroad.

The evidence from official and other statistics is that the total output of Irish agriculture, in terms of volume, was slowly increasing during the three pre-war generations, but that the increase was mainly in consequence of higher yields from the more efficient cultivation of a diminished area of arable land and from a larger area of better managed permanent pasture.

These changes, though painfully slow, were on the whole changes in the right direction so far as the general standard of production and living of the diminishing number of agricultural producers was concerned. Apart from the removal of the "upas tree" of Irish landlordism, they may be said to have taken place in consequence of the operation of general economic causes permeating a world economy in which Ireland was only a small element. During this period relative incomes obtainable at home or abroad in different occupations determined the movements of surplus labour by migration or emigration in a world in which the mobility of labour was, by present standards, remarkably perfect. In this period also

the relative prices obtainable for cash crops like wheat and live-stock or live-stock products altered in such a way as to make relative specialisation in the production of the latter by far the most advantageous for Irish agriculture. There developed also that degree of regional specialisation in which Limerick and neighbouring counties specialise in dairying, Meath and Westmeath in fattening, while tillage tends to be concentrated in areas like Louth and Wexford where large farms and large fields make possible the use of modern labour-saving machines. Our agricultural economy as a whole, though " extroverted " to the export market, is interdependent. Both the large scale tillage farmer and the so-called rancher need the surplus cattle bred by the small farmer or the dairy farmer in a different region. Equally, without the demand from native cattle finishers, cattle breeders would be totally dependent on the export market for the disposal of their surplus cattle. From the national point of view it matters profoundly that we should sell the largest possible number of cattle in the most finished condition. If we are to achieve this result in the most economic way, large scale graziers as well as tillage farmers must be put back in a position in which they can carry on a profitable cattle-finishing business. The small farmer who cultivates mainly potatoes needs to buy native as well as imported cereal products for animal feed, and these can only be produced on a commercial scale in adequate quantities on large well-equipped tillage farms. The commercial producer of oats or barley cannot hope to continue selling his product at a price which absorbs the whole profit of the other farmer who feeds it to pigs or poultry.

The price of store cattle must bear a certain relation to the price of fat cattle. The agricultural labourer cannot hope to retain permanent employment with a farmer who is making for himself a smaller real income than he is compelled by law to pay his labourer. Thus our agricultural economy as a whole depends for its smooth functioning on delicate price and income relationships, and no part of it can continue to function with profit or permanent advantage to itself unless it is possible for all parts of it to function amicably and profitably together.

Post-war Disruption of Price Relationships

As compared with the pre-war price equilibrium, there can be no doubt about the serious changes in price relationships which have taken place to the disadvantage of agriculture in the interval. Agricultural prices in general were from 1932 to 1936 well below the pre-war level and in 1937 were less than 5 per cent. above. There is no index specially designed to reflect the prices at which farmers buy their domestic requisites; but when we bear in mind that a pair of ploughman's boots now cost 25s. as against 10s. pre-war, there seems no reason to suppose that the increase in the cost of such requisites to farmers is any less than the figure of 76 per cent. by which in November 1938 the general cost of living exceeded the pre-war base. The annual Index of Farm Raw Material costs given on p. 191 of the 1938 Statistical Abstract is expressed in terms of a 1930 base. If we assume that in 1930 raw material costs were 25 per cent. above pre-war, it appears that these costs were in 1937 some 24 per cent. above pre-war, whereas agricultural prices were in that year less than 5 per cent. above pre-war. As will be seen from Table I below, in every year since 1931 raw material costs exceeded agricultural prices in comparison with a pre-war base.

Table I

Annual agricultural prices and costs (1911-13 = 100)

Year	Live Stock	Live Stock Produce	Crops	Total	Raw Material Costs
1927 ...	129·1	139·0	128·3	131·9	142·5
1928 ...	134·2	143·7	135·2	137·1	154·5
1929 ...	139·4	144·0	124·2	139·2	150·2
1930 ...	136·0	111·5	109·7	124·9	125·0
1931 ...	113·7	103·3	117·0	110·0	101·6
1932 ...	97·2	97·5	116·7	98·4	101·5
1933 ...	79·7	90·5	93·4	83·9	97·4
1934 ...	76·0	92·9	104·1	83·6	106·2
1935 ...	74·9	94·2	104·2	83·4	108·6
1936 ...	82·7	99·9	112·8	90·6	112·1
1937 ...	102·1	108·9	122·1	104·9	124·0

Also in every year since 1927 except 1931 the index of raw material costs exceeded that of live-stock produce by a fine

margin in the earlier years, but by a margin which was very wide in the years 1934, 1935, 1936, and especially 1937. With regard to live-stock itself, the price relations between raw materials costs and live-stock prices were such as to encourage stall feeding of dry cattle especially in 1930 and 1931, but after 1932 the margin of difference became so unfavourable that we are not surprised to learn that this important section of our agricultural economy has for some years been unprofitable.

Increases in the weekly wage rates of urban labour and reductions in the number of hours worked per week are likely to have an injurious effect on agricultural interests (employees' as well as employers') unless they are balanced by other factors. In so far as higher urban incomes change the pattern of demand in the home market so as to increase the total expenditure on Irish-grown food by urban labour, the effect is likely to be beneficial to Irish agriculture unless the whole increment of this expenditure is absorbed in processing charges that benefit only non-agricultural capital and labour. The index figure for the retail price of food increased from 131 to 159 between 1933 and 1938, and the value to farmers of produce consumed in the urban home market increased from £12,136,000 in 1934-35 to £14,353,000 in 1936-37. In the case of home produced bacon it is a notorious fact that the margin between the price of pigs and the price of bacon on the home market widened after June 1935, the difference being reflected in higher processing costs and profits in so far as it was not used to subsidise, at the expense of domestic consumers, the export of bacon to the British market. In the case of sugar beet the net output, which includes salaries and wages as well as profits, increased from £1,069,531 (excluding duty) in 1935 to £1,506,437 in 1936, but the amount returned to the farmer for growing beet increased only from £1,055,931 in 1935 to £1,106,838 in 1936.

The post-war increase in the earnings of transport and distributive workers is a well known phenomenon, and the fact that these earnings did not fall in the same degree as agricultural incomes and wages after 1931 must be held to

have distorted the relative income relationship in a sense unfavourable to agriculture and to have contributed more to the increase of agricultural costs than to the expansion of the home market for agricultural produce. In fact the upward movement of urban wages and incomes continued even after 1931, at a time when the acquiescence of agricultural labour in a downward adjustment of their already inadequate wages was the only thing that saved our agricultural economy from collapse and our country from social revolution. Rollermen in the flour-milling industry in Dublin who were getting 1s. 5d. per hour in 1931 had 1s. 7¾d. in 1937, and this is typical. On the other hand, the average weekly wage of permanent agricultural labourers over 21 years of age, who had no free house or allowance, had fallen from 24s. 3d. in Éire in 1931 to 22s. in 1937. The weekly wage of a builder's labourer in Dublin in January 1937 was 55s., two and a half times the level of the contemporary average agricultural wage. In October 1913 builders' labourers in Dublin were getting from 20s. 10d. to 21s. 11d. per week, a money wage not much in excess of contemporary agricultural wages and a real wage perhaps only slightly in excess.

It is not suggested that the present level of urban wages is excessive in terms of any non-economic standard, but it is suggested that because urban wages have lost all economic contact with the wages of the agricultural labour, from the surplus of which certain grades of urban labour are normally recruited, a new phenomenon exists which is incompatible with economic stability and the full employment of all our available productive resources of labour and capital. Agricultural wages and incomes are as low as they are partly because urban wages and incomes are as high as they are. In a really free economy the matter would adjust itself by the willingness of some migrant ex-agricultural labour to accept urban employment at less than the wages now current. This would tend to raise the level of agricultural wages and lower the level of urban wages until a new level of stable adjustment was reached, at which the influx of ex-agricultural labour to our towns would cease to be a destructive flood and become

only a normal and desirable trickle. Incidentally, the pressure of demand for fresh urban housing and the problem of the existing slums would thus be relieved. However, the success of Trade Union and public policy in rigidly maintaining existing urban wage levels, and increasing them wherever possible, renders the natural economic solution of the difficulty utterly impossible. We may as well reconcile ourselves to the continued necessity of maintaining a chronic stagnant pool of urban unemployment, unless it is relieved by emigration or unless the labours of the Agricultural Commission are so successful that agricultural wages and incomes will rise to a new adjustment with the present level of urban wages.

Arbitrary maintenance of uneconomic wage rates in certain sections of the national economy have the effect of a compulsory redistribution of the national income. This operates through the mechanism of the price system. If certain joints in the human organism are stiff the others, which remain flexible, have to do double work. Similarly, in the price system, the rigidity of certain elements compels compensating adjustments in other elements which retain their flexibility. Agricultural prices and incomes have in general retained their flexibility (though even here there are exceptions), and consequently agricultural prices and incomes have been depressed by reason of the successful maintenance of a rigid price and income structure in other sections of the national economy.

But more is involved in this than a mere *redistribution* of national income. In so far as rigid elements (of the type referred to above) cause unemployment, they have the effect of diminishing the national income or, at all events, preventing it from increasing in the measure otherwise probable.

Apart altogether from wage policy, the State in recent years has exerted itself to bring about a redistribution of national income by the processes of taxation and by expenditure on the social services. State expenditure or revenue account increased from £26,320,000 in 1931 to £32,975,000 in 1936, and of this increase nearly £3½ millions was represented by additional expenditure on Unemployment and Health Insurance, Old Age and Widows' and Orphans' Pen-

sions, and housing subsidies. The dead weight portion of the national debt increased from £17,862,000 in 1926 to £36,779,000 in 1936. Total local debt rose from £14,040,000 in 1926 to £24,574,000 in 1936. Thus the operations of public finance tend to redistribute the national income—a process which individual citizens may deplore or applaud as taxpayers and consumers but cannot fail to appreciate.

The wisdom or otherwise of such compulsory redistribution by public authority cannot be estimated without a full knowledge of a concrete case. A degree of such redistribution which might be the height of economic wisdom as well as of social justice in one case might be the height of folly in another. For example, in the Ireland of Bishop Berkeley's day such a redistribution of national income as would have enabled the peasant to " put beef in his belly and shoes on his feet " would have been a stabilising influence on an unstable economy, and would have created an increase of production as well as of consumption by reason of the better adjustment of what may be called the consumption economy to the production economy of the nation. On the other hand it is quite possible that, in the Ireland of to-day, the compulsory redistribution of income that is being effected is taking the shoes off the peasant's feet and making it impossible for him either to eat beef or to produce it.

It is difficult to know and appreciate all the concrete facts in the present case; but it may be laid down as a sound general principle that redistribution of the national income in the interests of social justice may be practised, with fewer unpleasant repercussions, in circumstances in which the national income as a whole is maintaining a steady upward trend. Every section of the community has an interest in increasing its purchasing power or command of real wealth; but unless the national wealth as a whole is increasing, such increase must be at the expense of other sections. Public policy, while necessarily sympathetic to the " under dog," should frown on all " beggar my neighbour " social policies and aim continually at the increase of the total national income while gradually ensuring its more equitable distribution.

It would appear from Table II that the experience of Éire was not so very different from that of other countries, inasmuch as there was a gradual tendency for national income to increase after 1932 and 1933. But it must be remembered that money income per head with us averages only some £50, whereas in New Zealand it is NZ£84 or £63 (sterling) and in Great Britain about £100. Public expenditure on revenue account has with us in recent years averaged well over 20 per cent. of national income, a proportion not much less than is found in Great Britain. Such a high proportion of public expenditure to national income is likely to involve a more serious degree of economic disturbance and create more economic stresses when national income per head is low than when it is high. The practical conclusion is that it is now an urgent duty incumbent on public authority to concentrate on the increase of the national income and to facilitate, in every way possible, the efforts of agricultural producers to increase their own incomes.

TABLE II

National Income of Certain Countries in Various Years in National Currencies (000,000's).

	Unit	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Australia ...	A£	645	566	460	438	458	512	518	560	610/25
Denmark ...	Kr.	3,700	3,750	3,550	3,400	3,550	3,850			
New Zealand ...	NZ£	162·5	141·0	112·0	104·0	118·5	126·0			
United Kingdom	£	4,384	4,318	3,889	3,844	3,962	4,238	4,530		
Éire ...	£	161·7	—	150·8	145·5	140·1	143·8	149·2		

Sources: *World Economic Survey* 1937/38 p, 136
Banking Commission Report, App. No. 7, p. 452.

The State can pervert the distribution of the national income by its commercial and fiscal policies as well as by its policies of public taxation and expenditure. When the State gives commercial or industrial privileges, by way of tariff, quota or otherwise, to favoured economic interests,

whatever the motive, the effect is to cause the sale of a diminished quantity of the "protected" goods at a higher price than consumers would otherwise have to pay. One result of this is to diminish the real purchasing power, or command of wealth, represented by a given amount of national income in money. The addition to the price of "protected" goods is represented partly by the higher profits of native industrial privilege-holders (who are not always natives), partly by the higher wages which the labour employed in such industries is often able to command, and partly by the higher costs of less efficient production bringing no advantage to anyone. In so far as such policies lead to a higher price than would otherwise be current for goods of equal quality, they amount in effect to a delegation by public authority to private hands of a right of taxation of the general public. Such private taxation resembles ordinary public taxation in the sense that it is likely to cause a redistribution of national income, but differs from it in the important respects (1) that no public services are given in exchange for private taxation thus levied on the public and (2) that so far from remedying old social injustices it is likely to create new ones.

Obviously the general taxable capacity of the community is impaired if any portion of the taxpayer's carcase is presented gratis to the harpies of private industrial privilege. In the early middle ages the sovereignty of the central government was disintegrated by the delegation of rights of taxation and jurisdiction to private persons. A similar situation in the economic sphere exists today in our own and other countries in which the State, which should act as trustee for the economic sovereignty of the consumer, has used its powers in order to support and make possible the exploitation of the consumer by spurious forms of private enterprise. The logic of that economic situation was completely worked out in eighteenth century France, in which country the taxable capacity available for the State was dried up and the National Treasury reduced to bankruptcy, primarily because a swarm of industrial and other privilege-holders was allowed and encouraged to batten on the general consumer.

In 1937 the average price of bacon in the home market exceeded a reasonable price by 16s. per cwt. The home consumption of bacon in that year was 573,000 cwts. Consequently domestic consumers paid nearly half a million pounds in that year by way of private taxation in consequence of the State-created industrial privileges of bacon-curers. Total domestic expenditure on bacon is probably in the region of £3,000,000 at retail, and the total value of retail trade in 1933 was £62,000,000. Our whole economy is permeated, in varying degrees, by the inflationary effect of such privileges on retail prices. If bacon expenditure, which is roughly one twentieth of total retail expenditure, yields £500,000 of private taxation, how much private taxation is contained in our retail expenditure as a whole ? It would not be surprising if the total amount was ten times £500,000 or £5,000,000—and it may well be more.

Industrial development at all costs is sometimes represented as a matter of life and death to the national economy and particularly to the agricultural interest. The object is to bring about a closer economic balance between agriculture and industry and provide an opening for the surplus population who cannot hope to find an adequate outlet for their energies in agriculture. Further, the desirability of developing the home market for our agricultural produce is constantly before us.

That the primary form of all commerce is the exchange of surplus agricultural produce for industrial goods is a notion with which we are all familiar. Consequently, it becomes of interest to examine how far our recent very remarkable industrial development has been accompanied by an increased consumption of Irish industrial goods by the agricultural community and an increased consumption of Irish agricultural produce by the non-agricultural community. But an examination of this and other questions vital to our agriculture must await a further article.

JOSEPH JOHNSTON

THE IRISH FRANCISCANS IN PRAGUE

BY REV. BRENDAN JENNINGS, O.F.M.

THE world attention which recently has been focussed upon Prague has made the name and location of that beautiful city familiar to everyone. Irish visitors who have spent but a few days there will have recalled the medieval charm of the streets and churches of the Old Town; the majesty of the Hradschin with its noble state-buildings and its cathedral of St. Vitus; the magnificent bridge spanning the broad Moldau into whose swift waters was cast St. John Nepomuc. The New Town, if not as attractive, nevertheless has something of the same grandeur. The Square of St. Wenceslaus leaves its lasting impression of space and proportion; and the many churches and buildings, although so much more modern than those within the gates, are not unworthy to take their place beside them. They continue the same tradition of taste and art, and express the same distinctive culture which has been the inheritance of Prague down through the centuries.

One of the principal streets leading from the Old Town into the New still bears the name of the Street of the Irish, although it is now a century and a half since Irishmen were associated with it. At its corner, opposite the Powder Tower, stands the former College of the Irish Franciscans, from whom the street takes its name. The building is now used as an excise office, but very little of its outward appearance has been changed since the Irish friars left it, and the ecclesiastical origin of the former church in particular is still very obvious. Anyone who has some knowledge of Irish foundations on the Continent in the seventeenth century, and especially of the Irish Franciscan houses, will be surprised at the building's size and stateliness. It is well designed, and is constructed with a solidity which seems almost to denote wealth. There is nothing, about its appearance, of the lowliness and poverty of St. Antony's College at Louvain, and even Wadding's

foundation at St. Isidore's, Rome, noble monument though it is to its founder's greatness, falls back by architectural comparison well into the second rank.

The Irish Franciscan foundation at Prague dates from the end of the year 1629, and it is an immediate offspring of their house at Louvain. It is proof of the development of the Irish Franciscans at the beginning of the seventeenth century that, although they had founded two houses (Louvain and Rome) for novices and students within the space of twenty years, accommodation had already become too small. At Louvain especially, where there was usually a community of forty or more and where economic difficulties were always on the verge of the extreme, it was felt to be imperative to find some new home where the work of preparation for the priesthood could be carried on with some degree of comfort. Many deaths had occurred amongst the young students, and the doctors had not hesitated to declare that they were due to want of sufficient nourishment. Austria appeared to offer the best likelihood of a new foundation and of sufficient patronage to maintain it, and some time before January 1629 Fr. Malachy Fallon, who was professor of theology in St. Antony's, was sent to Vienna to see whether somewhere within the Empire another house could not be secured. He was supported by letters of commendation to the Emperor from the Archduchess Clara Eugenia (7 Jan. 1629) and with another letter from the same high authority to the Electors and the Princes and Prelates of the Empire (16 Jan. 1629); and by March the 13th he was able to write to Fr. Hugh Ward, who was then Superior at Louvain, and report good hopes of success. The time seemed to him most favourable, and the best place was Prague, whose Archbishop, Cardinal von Harrach, he had met at Vienna and had found both personally charming and very favourably disposed. Fr. Fallon asked for further letters of commendation—from the Pope to all Christian Princes in general; from the King of Spain to the Emperor; from the Congregation of Propaganda to Cardinal von Harrach and to the Queen of Hungary, who was expected soon to take up residence in Prague. The ease with which such letters were asked and

obtained by Irish exiled ecclesiastics at the time is a proof of the genuine sympathy which was shown them in the highest quarters on the Continent.

Father Fallon left Vienna for Prague on March 14, 1629, and his mission in the Bohemian Capital met with the success he had anticipated. Cardinal von Harrach gave the desired permission for a new college, and the site chosen was a house which, under the title of St. Ambrose, formerly had been occupied by the Bohemian Franciscans, but which, after they had been expelled in the year 1483, had fallen into ruin and had been turned into a smithy. By November Father Fallon was back in Vienna, and by the 18th of the month had obtained letters of foundation from the Emperor Ferdinand II. It was stipulated that no subject should be received into the new college for whose maintenance provision had not been made previously, and that the Irish friars should not be allowed to ask for alms from door to door, or publicly, in the city of Prague ; but there was an explicit statement that they should enjoy the imperial favour and should be able to avail themselves, for the education of their novices and students, of the charity of the Bohemian nobility ; and there was no restriction upon the asking of alms outside the city.

Now that all the preliminary formalities had been settled, it was the duty of the Fathers at Louvain to take whatever further steps were necessary to render the enterprise a success. At the suggestion of Father Fallon they unanimously appointed as the first Superior Father Patrick Fleming, who had lately returned from Rome and was actually occupied as Reader in Philosophy to their students. He had the advantage of being distinguished by birth, since he was closely connected with the Flemings of Slane ; and he already enjoyed some reputation for learning, as he had shown great zeal in research work on the lives of the Irish saints. To enhance his status he was appointed, by the General of the Order, Reader in Theology. As a companion for his journey he took with him Father Gerald Fitzgerald, who had already been in Vienna and Prague with Father Fallon, and on foot the two set out for their distant destination at the beginning of November 1630.

They reached Prague towards the middle of the month, where they were welcomed by the Cardinal and given hospitality by the Bohemian Franciscans in the convent of St. Mary of the Snows.

Influential friends soon came forward to give whatever services and financial help were required, and the purchase of the site already chosen at the smithy was completed on April 4, 1631, for the sum of 2,100 florins. Six hundred florins were paid down, with the remainder to be paid in yearly instalments of three hundred. With Don Martin de Hoeff Huerta, member of the Council of War, and Simon Peter Aulik von Trebnitz, Privy Chancellor and Secretary of the Chancellory, as guarantors, the purchase was officially registered on April 11th. The cleaning up of the entire place and its adjustment to the requirements of a religious community seem to have been carried out almost altogether by Father Fleming himself, with the help of two young deacons, Brothers Matthew Hore and Francis Wolverston, who arrived from Louvain about the end of May. The house itself was large enough for a community of twenty, and the refectory would seat the same number. Out of the blacksmith's workshop a small chapel was formed, and above it the choir, capable of accommodating about thirty. An old stable was turned into a hall of theology. By July 6 everything was ready for the solemn opening, at which Fr. Wolverston, who in the meantime had been ordained priest, sang his first Mass, and Brother Matthew Hore delivered a Latin oration prepared by Father Fleming. The Cardinal, the Burgrave, and many of the nobility graced the occasion by their presence; and to the old title of the house was added that of the Immaculate Conception.

It might have been thought that all those difficulties almost necessarily associated with a new foundation had now been overcome, and Father Fleming, evidently of this mind, soon set out for Vienna (August 7) to obtain from the Emperor some permanent endowment such as had been granted to St. Antony's at Louvain by Philip the Third of Spain. His journey, however, had far different results, for it revealed to

him the amount of secret opposition which had grown up, especially on the part of the Austrian Franciscans, who were apprehensive lest their own interests should be affected. All approach to the Emperor was carefully blocked, and strong representations were made to the Papal Nuncio, by whom finally Fr. Fleming, with nothing accomplished, was ordered to return to Prague. There he found that in the meantime further difficulties had been raised by the Bohemian Capuchin Fathers, who on September 23 had bought the ground for a new monastery immediately next to the Irish settlement and, claiming priority of right, objected to the establishment of the Irish Franciscans almost at their door. It was evident that if this objection succeeded after the solemn ceremony of a few months before, all Prague would laugh at the Irish fiasco, and any further hope of a foundation in the city would have to be abandoned. For help Father Fleming turned to his friend Father Luke Wadding, whose power at Rome, especially within his own Order, seemed to be almost unbounded. Events however were hurrying forward which were to make the situation, for a time at least, even more hopeless still.

On September 17 the Imperial army under Tilly had been defeated at Breitenfeld by Gustavus Adolphus, whose Saxon ally then swept forward through Misnia and Lusatia into Bohemia, with no one to resist him. Leitmeritz and the smaller towns fell without a struggle, and the way was open to Prague, which had been left without defenders. There was a general flight not only of ecclesiastics and Religious but of the nobles and citizens of every degree, and on November 7 the Irish community decided to fly to Vienna, setting out for their destination in different groups. Father Gerald Fitzgerald seems to have travelled with Father Patrick Taaffe, who had come to Prague a few months earlier, and their journey must have been uneventful, for they reached their destination safely. Father Fleming took as his companion Brother Matthew Hore ; but near Beneschau, some thirty miles on their journey, both were slain by a band of fanatical Bohemian peasants, and were subsequently buried in the neighbouring Franciscan church

at Voticé. Back in Prague the house which had been transformed with so much labour was reduced to a state of ruin. Even the roof was destroyed, and all furniture was carried off by the looters. Fate thus seemed to be altogether on the side of the opposition in Vienna, which, thus encouraged, again lifted its head and showed itself more hostile than ever. Father Fitzgerald, upon whom the Superiorship had now devolved, found himself beset by difficulties of every kind; and as a climax, when his return to Prague became possible during the following summer and he set about the work of restoration, an order from the Nuncio in Vienna (18 August, 1632) forbade him or any other Irishman to proceed with it under pain of immediate excommunication, until the next General Chapter of the Franciscans should have given its formal approbation.

Although the outlook thus appeared so black, the new college was in reality soon to vindicate its rights. This must be attributed entirely to the mediation exercised in Rome by Father Luke Wadding, whom Father Fitzgerald, on this account, called the true founder. Fresh letters of commendation were procured by him, this time to the Queen of Hungary, to the Spanish Agent at Vienna, and to Cardinal von Harrach; and he himself interceded with the Nuncio. It was undoubtedly due to him that the new Franciscan General, within a month of his election, quashed all opposition within the Order and took the house under his own immediate jurisdiction (20 June, 1633). Meanwhile Cardinal von Harrach, who returned to Prague on October 3 (1632), received Father Fitzgerald on the 5th and promised to be a patron and protector; and shortly afterwards, by a wise compromise, all difficulties with the Bohemian Capuchins were settled amicably. Repairs to the house were finished by the following November, and almost immediately after we find signs of normal life and development.

The economic conditions of the college in these very early days appear to have been as difficult as the most ardent lover of Dame Poverty could have desired. This was due to the fact that so far the small community was almost unknown. A

contemporary account, written by one of the friars, relates that sometimes there was no food for the space of three or four days. What there was seems to have been supplied by the Irish soldiers who were quartered in or near Prague in the imperial service, some of whom on one occasion, meeting Brother Francis Magennis and Father Francis Wolverston, invited them to their quarters in Misnia, and after eight days sent them home with an alms of 200 crowns, 22 cows, 40 sheep, and some horses—all which, when sold, eased the situation considerably. It was not long before these same two successful mendicants set out to find Colonel Walter Butler, who was then military governor of Meissen, and returned from him with gifts of horses, carriages, pictures, clocks, and useful furniture for their convent. It was natural that the brilliant career of this Irish soldier should have been followed by his Franciscan countrymen with whole-hearted enthusiasm. His part in the " purge " of Wallenstein[1] was referred to by Father Fitzgerald in a letter to Luke Wadding as a deed " absolutely necessary for the welfare of the House of Austria and the whole Catholic Church, and more praiseworthy than can ever be described. It has made our country and nation, otherwise quite unheard of here, most famous and well known, so that whatever else we may meet with from the Emperor, it will not be a rebuff." Butler's promotion to the rank of Colonel of Dragoons is noted ; his capture of eight standards from the enemy ; his further promotion to the rank of First Camp-Master ; his visit to the college on July 8, 1632, before his departure for Vienna ; and finally his early death " as he was in the beginninge of his fortune whereby he could healp hime sealfe and many others and doe his poore distressed countrie and contrimen great honour and service." Colonel Butler's own esteem for the friars was testified by a legacy to them of thirty thousand florins, and his instructions that his remains should be transferred to their keeping. His legacy was to serve later on for the building of the greater part of their new house and church ; and his wife, who soon after her marriage had been converted to the Catholic Faith by one of the friars,

[1] See Professor M. Macken's article " Wallenstein and Butler " in STUDIES, Dec. 1934.

Father Patrick Taaffe, left by will a considerable sum for the same purpose

The princely gift of Colonel Butler must have brought the days of economic difficulty to an end, and during the remainder of the century and a half of their existence in Prague the Irish friars seem to have been well supported. There were still times when they were hard pressed by their creditors, and fresh bursts of persecution at home often crowded their house and made it more difficult to make proper provision. This was particularly the case during the Cromwellian and the Williamite periods. But in addition to the generosity of the clergy and laity, the Government seems always to have been willing to come to their aid. We find from the official records in the Prague archives that money grants were very frequent, and regular assignments were made several times each year of wood, fish (carp and pike), butter and corn, from the neighbouring imperial domains. In this wise, the building of a new convent soon became possible, and the ground was laid out for this purpose on September 11, 1637. The Emperor is said to have contributed 300 florins yearly towards the funds while the work was in progress. Only one wing was finished, however, at this time, the east wing being added in the year 1704 by Count Sigismund Maguire, Imperial General of Artillery at Olmutz, and the north wing in 1739 by Count Andrew Hamilton. A new church was begun in the summer of the year 1652, and to mark the occasion the Emperor not only laid the foundation-stone and contributed generously, but likewise abolished the prohibition of seeking alms within the city. On their side, the friars appear to have had every confidence in presenting their numerous petitions to the authorities, and showed no hesitation in asking for aid of every kind. When lime for the building of their convent was offered to them at Carlstein, they begged that the Captain of that district might be ordered to bring it down to the city in his empty boats. For the church they were in need of iron for the window frames, so they asked for eighty bundles of iron from one of the imperial foundries. They were unable to transport the grain which they had begged in Podiebrad, and they asked

that it might be exchanged for cheaper cereals at the domain of Brunduc, which was much nearer home. We feel quite certain that they will meet with a refusal when they petition for a part of the public square in order to be able to enlarge their garden; but even that is granted. In May 1654 they discovered that the proportions of the church, actually being built, were wrong by some six or seven yards (it was as broad as it was long) and they petitioned for leave to remedy the defect by building out across the neighbouring lane; and again they were not refused. Under a government intensely Catholic they enjoyed all the privileges of exiles for the Faith. On August 13, 1654, the Emperor took them and all their belongings under his own immediate protection and became their patron; and Leopold I (6 March 1659), Charles VI (1 Sept., 1718) and Maria Teresa (10 Jan., 1746) confirmed and continued the privilege.

It is possible that the Irish friars were favoured more than they might otherwise have been because of the services which they, in their turn, were able to give to the ecclesiastical authorities of the city, though it is at the same time true that they were only able to render these services as the result of a further favour conferred upon them by Cardinal von Harrach. When in October 1632 his Eminence promised that he would be their patron and protector, they seemed to fear lest his promises were little more than comforting words, and perhaps he himself had not yet decided upon any practical steps he might be able to take. There was, however, no great delay. A few years previously he had founded the Collegium Adalbertinum to serve as a seminary for the ecclesiastical students of his diocese and for those of the religious Orders established in Prague; and it had been his first intention to give the chairs of philosophy and theology to the Barnabite Fathers. Within a few months of his promise, however, he had turned to the Irish friars, asking them to supply him with two professors for the positions. He was no doubt encouraged to make this decision by the reputation for learning which the Irish Franciscans enjoyed through the many professors they had recently sent out to different parts of Italy, Austria

and Germany, from their colleges at Louvain and Rome. Father Malachy Fallon, who had previously taught at Louvain and Rheims, was appointed to the chair of theology in the year 1635, and within a short time a full staff of six professors of philosophy and theology from the college was attached to the seminary.

The Irish friars were thus raised to a position of pre-eminence, and what was of the greatest importance for themselves, they were brought into the closest contact with the secular clergy of the Diocese of Prague and with the regular clergy of such great and influential monasteries as Strahoff and Monsserrate, the homes of the Premonstratensians and the Cistercians. The relations of ecclesiastical students with their professors are, as a rule, those of an affectionate esteem which does not diminish with memory, so that apart from the documentary evidence we possess it is easy to imagine the advantage it must have been for the Irish exiles to find, to whatever parish of the diocese they might go, priests with whom they stood upon such special terms of intimacy. In any difficulty they could thus rely upon the Bohemian clergy for support, and this is instanced by an address sent on their behalf to Rome in May 1651 by thirty-six of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Kingdom, diocesan and abbatial. At the same time the extent to which the Irish friars identified themselves even with the secular interests of Prague is evident from the fact that when the city was besieged in the year 1648, they did not hesitate to take their part in its armed defence. Don Caramuel, Abbot of Monsserrate, speaks of this in a letter to Luke Wadding, and emphasises that he is not repeating what he had heard but what he actually saw: "The Irish Franciscans joined with the monks of Monsserrate and did military service until the end or rather the collapse of the siege. At the city wall they were an example and an object of reverence to everyone. Amidst the fatigues of war, they observed the fasts of their Rule, celebrated holy Mass, and recited the divine office . . . . They were content with the bread served out to the army, and often with that alone. During the day they used their heavy arms in the most exposed

and dangerous places; and at night, if the fighting allowed it for an hour or so, they slept on the ground under the open sky and often suffered the inclemencies of the weather." If the friars suffered any casualties on this occasion has not been recorded, but at least they gave earnest proof of their gratitude to the country which had adopted them.

A list of the Irish Franciscans who taught in the seminary was published in the year 1693, when their services there seem to have come to an end and to have been restricted to their own college. It contains thirty-nine names, many of them of men otherwise well distinguished, as for instance Father Francis Farrell, Father John Barnewall, Father Antony de Burgo, Father John Brady, and Father Francis O'Neill, who all afterwards became Provincials in Ireland. Father Bernardine Clanchy taught for twenty-seven years, and Father Antony Farrell for twenty; while Father Bonaventure Brody and Father Patrick Ward held their chairs for fifteen and fourteen years respectively. The best known of them all is Father Antony Brody (Antonius Bruodinus), who however missed the opportunity of becoming a first-class authority on our Irish martyrs. He is one of the very few Irish writers who even thought of preserving their memories, and as he could very easily have gathered the more important facts about many of them, he might reasonably have been expected to give some attention to accuracy. Indeed he does profess to have gone to great pains, and he writes so plausibly that until the earnest investigation recently instituted for the process of the martyrs' beatification he was accepted and quoted on all hands. Let us allow him the credit of having been a first-class propagandist. Given merely a martyr's name, he could construct all further details with the greatest facility—early biography, details of arrest, speeches, execution, and even subsequent miracles. Many a good ecclesiastic and layman in Bohemia must have read all this with emotion and have sympathised, as he never otherwise would have done, with the persecuted Catholics in Ireland; but the searcher after truth remains aghast at the writer's power of imagination. Unlike their colleagues at Rome and Louvain, the Franciscans

at Prague produced nothing of outstanding theological or historical value, and the few manuals they published were not above the usual level of those compiled for students. There are two translations into Irish which might be of some interest in our own days if they were published, the one made by Father Philip O'Reilly of the *Introduction à la vie dévote* and the other, certainly of some importance, made by Father Bonaventure O'Connor of the *Triumphus Sanctae Crucis* by Savanarola. The work of Father Maurice O'Connor, *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica* (Innsbruck, 1659), gives an interesting account of the state of Ireland during the Cromwellian period.

While doing its important work for the education of the Bohemian clergy, the college did not neglect its primary purpose of educating priests for Ireland. It is not possible to give precise statistics for the early years of its existence, but in all probability Prague supplied the Irish Franciscan Province with a much greater number of missionaries than either of their colleges at Louvain and Rome. It was a much larger institution and often housed, from the middle of the seventeenth century, between sixty and eighty members. A document has been preserved from which we learn that, between the years 1756 and 1783 (27 years), 115 Fathers left for Ireland, and amongst the forty-five whose names it gives are included Father Denis Maguire, afterwards Bishop of Dromore (translated to Kilmore in 1770), and his immediate successor in that See, Father Patrick Brady. The ordination registers of the Archdiocese of Malines, on the other hand, show that for the period between 1607 and 1794 (187 years) 356 Irish Franciscans of the Louvain house received the priesthood. For St. Isidore's, Rome, no numbers are available, but the house was never capable of holding more than forty students, and during the eighteenth century its numbers were often much less.

On the 1st of May, 1786, it was reported to the authorities at Prague that Joseph II (The Sacristan) had decided that the Irish college could be suppressed, and on August the 29th following the Emperor gave his definite orders to that effect. On September the 12th Carl Count Clary notified the com-

mission established at Prague for the suppression of religious houses that, in virtue of their decree given two days previously, he had already informed the Irish friars of their suppression, and had administered to them the oath requiring them to make known all their goods and possessions. From the Superior, Father Thomas Hogan, he had received the keys of the library and the catalogue. The priests and clerics numbered 37, and for their maintenance he had allowed one florin daily for the Superior and 40 Kreuzer daily for the others. It was afterwards decided that they should all be free to return to Ireland or transfer to other Franciscan monasteries in the Imperial States; and those who returned were to receive 100 florins for their equipment and 200 for their journey. All chose Ireland except six, who were too old or too ill, and as a special favour these were permitted either to live as secular priests in Prague or to retire with a modest allowance. The house and church were at first set aside for military use, but in 1790 the church was closed and secularised, and from 1792-1802 part of the house was used as a theatre. The last change came in 1810, when the church tower was taken down, and both church and college were altered to serve the department of excise. Let us hope that the Irish name of the street will remain always and that the special link between the two countries may never be entirely forgotten.

Brendan Jennings, O.F.M.

CONTEMPORARY NEW ZEALAND AND ITS LESSONS FOR IRELAND*

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.

I

IN November 1935 the Labour Party won the general elections in New Zealand and a Labour Government came into office. The Labour poll was 392,000 votes, giving the Party 55 seats; the National Party came next with 286,000 votes and 19 seats; the Independents secured 67,000 and 6 seats. In the previous parliament (1931) the Labour Party had polled more votes than any other single party and had secured 24 seats; but a Liberal-Conservative coalition, the National Government of the Forbes-Coates Party, obtained 46 seats and held office till November 1935.

The Labour Government at once set about putting its programme into force, and during the three years 1935-1938 a number of far-reaching measures were enacted. In October last (1938) there was another general election, and the Labour Party were once more returned to power. There was a very big poll: Labour secured 490,000 votes but lost one seat, leaving them with 54; the National Party got 356,000 votes with 24 seats—a gain of 5; the Independents got 24,999 votes, losing 4 seats. Thus Labour's policy and programme were emphatically endorsed by the electorate, in spite of an undoubted rally of the more conservative elements (an increase of 70,000 votes) to defeat them.

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* *Recent Economic Changes in New Zealand.* By W. B. Sutch. (Institute of Pacific Relations. 1936. 8s.).

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Contemporary New Zealand. By Various Writers. (N. Z. Institute of International Affairs. 1938. 10s. 6d.).

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New Zealand in the Making. By J. B. Condliffe. (Allen & Unwin. 1930. 15s.).

Littledene: A New Zealand Rural Community. By H. C. D. Somerset. (N. Z. Council for Educational Research. 1938).

New Zealand Supplement. Daily Telegraph. July 13, 1936.

This was in October 1938. A month later (November 1938) the Prime Minister, Mr. Michael J. Savage, in a speech hinted that certain measures might have to be taken to conserve New Zealand's sterling funds in London, which were being seriously depleted. Orthodox economists had been waiting for three years for this announcement, and, indeed, had almost begun to lose faith in their own prophecies delivered in 1936 and 1937. The monetary measures—credit and currency reforms—introduced by the Labour Government must (so the orthodox argued) lead to a severe strain on the exchange and probably lead to exchange restrictions. Denmark, the orthodox pointed out, had to introduce exchange restrictions very early on: New Zealand would have to follow. But New Zealand did not follow; at least not in 1936 or 1937—or in 1938 until December. The orthodox must have breathed a deep sigh of relief as on December 6, 1938 they saw the first sign of the economic laws waking up to do their duty. On that day Mr. Walter Nash, the Labour Finance Minister, issued three orders: (i) there was to be a licensing system for exports; (ii) there was to be control of imports; (iii) there was to be a suspension of the statutory obligation of the Reserve Bank to give sterling in exchange for its bank-notes.

Apart from the long delay in their coming, the only extraordinary thing about these three regulations was that the Labour Government had always rejected and pooh-poohed the possibility of them ever being necessary. The orthodox economists, when they had read the various currency, credit and other monetary measures introduced by the Labour Government, had said: "All very excellent; but you will have to close your frontiers to private trade and movements of capital; you will have to impose exchange restrictions; and after that you will gain the advantages and suffer the disadvantages of such a closed economy. Before going on with your schemes, it would be well to weigh carefully these advantages and disadvantages, because come they will." It seems certain that the Labour Government did not believe that this necessity of a closed economy would arise. But whether they did or not, they had no intention of being frightened off what seemed to

them obviously necessary reforms in the banking system. And we in Ireland certainly ought to be grateful to them: for we can watch exactly how things develop in New Zealand, and we can learn both from their successes (which have been many) and from their mistakes (which are not yet either obvious or proven to be mistakes). It is, however, a matter for sincere regret that our Banking Commission failed to give us any explanation, analysis or criticism of the monetary experiments of New Zealand. If there was one thing we might have expected from that Commission it was an authoritative account of what was happening there and why we should not follow, even if at some distance.

When issuing in December 1938 his three fulfilments of the orthodox economists' prophecies, Mr. Nash stated that these restrictions were necessary to stop the continuing decline of New Zealand's oversea sterling funds. The Government must have (i) control of the sterling credits arising from the sale of exports in England and (ii) control of the demands of New Zealanders on these credits for imports. A New Zealand farmer selling his produce in England must hand over his English credit or money to the Government, who would give him New Zealand currency in exchange. But the Reserve Bank need not change this New Zealand currency back into sterling. Moreover, New Zealanders might no longer import anything they wished: the Government would regulate what was wanted and what was not. The rate of exchange at which the sterling credits would be paid for in New Zealand currency was to be £100 English—£N.Z.124. But I imagine that orthodox economists will be inclined to foresee the day when the official rate will be merely as significant or insignificant as the official German rate of 11·66 marks to the £.

Oversea credits, said Mr. Nash, were to be used: first, for oversea debt services of the Government and of local bodies; secondly, for the purchase of goods and materials, with a preference in favour of essential requirements which cannot be produced to advantage in the Dominion. The necessity of these exchange restrictions was obvious from the figures given by Mr. Nash. The net oversea assets of the Reserve Bank

and the trading banks declined from £28,000,000 in October 1937 to £12,000,000 in October 1938—a net reduction of £14,000,000 in twelve months. This was due to a sharp decline in the value of the exports without a corresponding fall in the value of the imports. Moreover, there had been transfers of capital from New Zealand for investment in England or elsewhere.

These exchange restrictions came into force on December 6, 1938. In January 1939 the Reserve Bank issued its usual statistical summary, from which it was possible to trace the growth of the movement leading up to the restrictions. In the spring of 1936, just four or five months after the Labour Government first came into power, the net oversea assets of the Reserve and trading banks were £N.Z.45,000,000 ; a year later (April 1937) they had fallen to £N.Z.37,500,000 ; another year later (April 1938) they had fallen to £N.Z.28,600,000—a fall of £N.Z.16,400,000 in two years. But now the rate of decline increased rapidly, and by November 1938 the net oversea assets had sunk to £N.Z.8,000,000—a drop of £N.Z.20,600,000 in seven months. No wonder the Labour Government began to be anxious immediately after their second return to office in October 1938.

Four months of the exchange restriction regime went by, and on April 19, 1939, Mr. Nash, the Minister for Finance, speaking at the annual conference of the New Zealand Dairy Board, " appealed to the dairy farmers of the Dominion not to press for an increase in the guaranteed prices for butter and other dairy produce." He was quite evidently afraid of a " rising spiral with prices, wages and costs chasing one another up," and he declared that it was necessary to secure economic stability for a year or two. A similar appeal was made to the Trade Unions, and he refused to grant the shipowners' request for higher freights. He explained that while the Government had made a net gain of £500,000 in 1937-1938 on the marketing of dairy produce, it stood to lose this year (1938-1939) a good deal more than £1,000,000—" indeed it had already lost £1,000,000 on the dairy trade."

Just three days later, on April 22, Mr. Nash followed up

this warning and appeal by issuing a further "drastic restriction of imports" for the next half-year. A list of 300 items are subject to restriction—some of them practically prohibited. It seems that various foodstuffs (biscuits and the like), matches, cigarettes, cigars, certain articles of clothing, blankets, carpets, pianos, gramophones and many similar items are completely prohibited. Assembled motor vehicles are also banned; but 60 per cent. of the former imports may be imported unassembled. Mr. Nash revealed the fact that the excess of exports over imports in 1938 was only £3,000,000, while something between £12,000,000 and £15,000,000 was required for debt and other charges.

II

Before briefly sketching the chief features of the New Zealand Labour Party's monetary programme, which is now reaching its testing time, it may be well to show where New Zealand and Ireland differ and where they are alike.

The area of New Zealand is 103,000 square miles; of Ireland 32,000 square miles (twenty-six counties, 26,600 square miles); that is, New Zealand is just over three times as large as Ireland and almost exactly four times as large as the twenty-six counties. The population of New Zealand (March 1937) is 1,502,737—excluding the Maoris, who number some 85,000; the population of the twenty-six counties is just 3,000,000. In contrast with Ireland, New Zealand possesses substantial resources of low grade coal and of easily smelted iron ore. About 2,000,000 tons of coal are mined every year, which practically suffice for the country's needs. There are two State coal mines in operation. The iron industry has not been developed to any great extent, but the present Government have erected a State steel works. Moreover, New Zealand has deposits of gold in three main fields: Hauraki, West Coast, and Otago. Up to date £100,000,000 worth of gold has been obtained. The rise in the price of gold after 1931 gave a great impetus to gold-mining in New Zealand, and some of its unemployment funds were used to start unemployed men working on alluvial deposits producing a commodity for which they were sure of a market. In 1936 a total of nearly 600,000

ozs. of gold and silver bullion, worth £1,273,000, was produced.

Yet another source of wealth, at present absent from Ireland, is New Zealand's forest industry. Less than 100 years ago about two-thirds of New Zealand was covered with forests —40,000,000 acres out of 66,000,000. To-day only one-fifth of the country's area is forest—some 12,500,000 acres, of which only about 3,500,000 acres are of real value as timber. The annual production of timber in 1936 and 1937 was 320 and 300 million feet board measure respectively. In 1935 the exports of timber amounted to 39 million super feet ; but they have fallen considerably since then. There are some 600 sawmills working, a notable increase in recent years. A State Forest Service was set up in 1921 " to maintain protective forests for climatic reasons, to preserve forests on lands which would otherwise become mere waste, and to maintain ample timber supplies at reasonable prices." It was realised that an area of forest amounting to 6 per cent. of the total area was very low, and so great efforts were made to conserve and re-plant the forests. The State now controls some 8,000,000 acres of forest. It is calculated that it will take 150 years of silvicultural management to " convert the over-mature virgin forests into healthy growing stands."

From the agricultural point of view New Zealand is a pastoral country. Of its 66,000,000 acres, 43,000,000 are occupied, and of these 19,000,000 are cultivated. The other 24,000,000 acres of the occupied area consist of low hill country with small rainfall, suitable only for grazing. Sheep farms cover 30,000,000 acres (70 per cent. of the occupied land) ; dairy farms account for 3,500,000 acres, and mixed farming for the remaining 10,000,000 acres. As is to be expected, there are twice as many dairy farms on the 3,500,000 acres as there are sheep farms on the 30,000,000 acres, and the population living on dairy farms is twice that on sheep farms.

All this is very different from Ireland. In the twenty-six counties we have three times as many people living on one-quarter the area of land. We have only 12,000,000 acres of arable land as against New Zealand's 43,000,000. Our per-

manent pasture runs to 8,000,000 acres, with another 2,000,000 devoted to hay ; while about 1,500,000 acres are under crops.

New Zealand raises sheep both for wool and mutton : it carries about 32,000,000 sheep on its 30,000,000 acres of sheep-farms. In 1935 it exported 650,000 bales of wool, valued at £7,000,000 ; in 1936, 910,000 bales (£13,300,000) ; in 1937, £19,000,000 worth ; *but* in the present year (1939) the value of the wool exported is expected to be only £8,000,000. When it is remembered that the value of Eire's export of cattle was £7,500,000 in 1937 and £9,500,000 in 1938, the great difference between New Zealand and Ireland will be appreciated. In 1937 the total exports of New Zealand were valued at £66,700,000 ; of the twenty-six counties at £22,200,000. The butter exports of New Zealand amounted to £17,000,000 in 1937 ; of Ireland £1,600,000. The frozen meat exports of New Zealand in 1937 came to £14,700,000 ; the whole live cattle trade of Ireland amounted to no more than £7,500,000. And this huge export trade is the production of a population of 1,500,000 persons. It is of importance to note that one animal, the sheep, accounts, by its wool and carcase, for 50 per cent. of New Zealand's exports—some £34,000,000 ; and there are 30,000,000 acres for that animal to feed on. Another 25 per cent. of New Zealand's exports is made up of its butter exports, £17,000,000 ; to which industry 3,500,000 acres are devoted. Moreover, the type of export—chilled lamb and mutton, butter, cheese, and wool—necessitates a great number of secondary industries and consequent employment.

Yet another important point of difference is that Ireland is a creditor country, while New Zealand is a debtor country. To take only the income from investments abroad : Ireland (the twenty-six counties) in 1937 received £13,100,000 and paid out only £8,100,000—a net credit balance of £5,000,000. New Zealand, on the other hand, paid in dividends and interest in 1936 £22,500,000. The public debt of the twenty-six counties is, at the very highest estimate, £80,000,000 ; but the net "dead weight debt," national and local, is £51,000,000. The public debt of New Zealand is £287,000,000, of which £157,000,000 (sterling currency) is domiciled in

London. Moreover, the local government bodies in New Zealand have a debt of £70,000,000, as compared with Ireland's £28,000,000. The creditor-debtor position is shown also by the special trade per head of the population of the two countries : Ireland has an *import* surplus of £7 3s. 0d. per head ; New Zealand has an *export* surplus of £4 11s. 0d. per head.

A few words may be said about New Zealand's large public debt of £287,000,000. For decades now—since the sixties of the last century—the policy of having public works as "a permanent industry" has been followed. It was customary to have in the Budget each year, almost as a matter of course, a loan for public works. It was felt that the State was somewhat in the position of a prudent and enterprising landlord with a potentially wealthy but unexploited estate of millions of acres. Such a landlord must be ready to spend money generously on "opening up the country," even if the money or capital so sunk would not give any direct cash return at so much per cent. Not having the capital in New Zealand and so being unable to get it by taxation, the State decided to borrow largely and to "open up the country" year after year by a systematic series of public works. At least £160,000,000 of the £287,000,000 public debt was borrowed for these public works. Some of this debt, probably the major portion of it, would be called by certain economists "dead weight debt" as not being productive of a direct cash return. But it is certainly a "productive debt" in any true sense of the word. Without that expenditure (which would have been impossible without borrowing), New Zealand would not be able to-day to have an export trade of some £66,000,000 from a population of 1,500,000 persons.

After the war, from 1920 to 1937, £115,000,000 was spent on public works ; and of this sum £91,000,000 was borrowed money. In 1927 there were 7,425 employees of the Public Works Department ; in 1931 (when the depression had well begun) there were 12,422. These men were not on relief work : they were normally employed as fully paid industrial workers. A National Expenditure Adjustment Commission was appointed when the economic depression, 1930-1932, began to be felt.

This Commission felt bound to report against any further oversea borrowing. " Lavish expenditure," it said, " has called into existence a large body of men who have known no other employment than that made possible by the use of borrowed money." This led the then Government, a Liberal-Conservative coalition, to cut down the expenditure on public works—which naturally increased unemployment. To meet this they re-employed the men at a lower wage on some form of " relief work." As in Ireland, so in New Zealand, a new form of unemployed registration was introduced in 1931. The figures for former years are, therefore, not comparable. But under this new form of registration there were about 55,000 unemployed in 1931, 70,000 in 1932, and nearly 80,000 in 1933. The numbers dropped somewhat to 60,000 at the end of 1935. But by that time, November 1935, the Labour Government were in office.

III

New Zealand has always been noted for its social services and its labour legislation, all tending to a continual redistribution of the national income. " If New Zealanders can be said to have any social or economic theories, pride of place must undoubtedly be given to the general theory that human considerations should take precedence of economic progress or, perhaps, that economic progress can in the long run be based only upon human welfare."[1] In 1913-14 expenditure on social services came to £2,124,000 ; in 1931 it was £10,500,000 ; in 1937-38 it had risen to about £18,000,000. The present Labour Government has built up its reputation and its achievements upon three main pillars : (i) increase and extension of pensions and similar social services ; (ii) greater generosity in unemployment rates and public works expenditure ; (iii) a policy of " social lending "—as, for example, for housing and for putting workers on the land.

Probably the most interesting and actual of recent economic changes in New Zealand is that connected with banking and finance. New Zealand has been on a sterling exchange standard

[1] Condliffe : *New Zealand in the Making*. (Allen & Unwin. 1930. 15s.). This is the general idea inspiring the First and Second Minority Reports of the recent Banking Commission.

for decades now: £100 New Zealand currency was equal to £100 sterling and, incidentally, also equal to £100 Australian currency. There was a statutory obligation to redeem bank-notes in gold, but strictly speaking New Zealand was on a sterling exchange rather than a gold exchange standard. In 1914 the obligation to redeem in gold was suspended and has never been re-inforced.

In 1930 Sir Otto Niemeyer, who had been in Australia in connection with its financial difficulties, was asked by the New Zealand Government to report on the New Zealand position. A Bill (which never became law) was introduced based on certain recommendations of Sir Otto Niemeyer. It chiefly dealt with the setting up of a Central (Reserve) Bank free from political interference, and with the statutory linking at parity of the N. Z. pound to the pound sterling in the same way as our pound is linked. But following on the actual depreciation of the Australian pound in 1931 (the exchange rate was then £130 Australian to £100 sterling), the New Zealand pound was depreciated, not by law but by the banks, to £N.Z.110 to £100 sterling. Early in 1932 an Economic Committee appointed by the coalition (Liberal-Conservative) Government recommended that the N.Z. pound "should be deliberately depreciated in order to raise farm receipts and the national income." In January 1933 the Government did depreciate the N.Z. currency to £125 N.Z. equal £100 sterling. This led to the resignation of the Minister of Finance, Mr. Downie Stewart, his place being taken by Mr. J. G. Coates, a distinguished leader of the Conservative Party. Mr. Coates set up by law the first Reserve Bank of New Zealand. This Bank opened its doors in August 1934. Its share capital was held by the public, but the Government appointed three representatives on the Board of Directors, and the Secretary of the Treasury had a seat, though no vote. The Reserve Bank was given the power to fix the rate of exchange with sterling to secure "the economic welfare of New Zealand."

A year and a half later, in November 1935, the coalition Government was badly defeated at the General Elections and the Labour Party came into power. There can be no doubt

that credit, currency and banking issues were a major influence in the victory of Labour. It was felt that a more radical reform was required, and Labour promised that reform. Mr. Walter Nash was the New Minister of Finance; and when parliament met in March 1936, he introduced a Reserve Bank of New Zealand Amendment Bill. By this Bill, which rapidly became law, the shareholders of the Reserve Bank were bought out at £6 5s. 0d. per £5 share, the market value of their shares, and the Bank became a State-owned one. The Governor and Deputy Governor are appointed by the Government for a definite period of office. The Directors are also appointed by the Government and can be removed at will. The Amendment Act laid down the duty of the Reserve Bank thus: "To give effect, as far as may be and within the limits of its powers, to the monetary policy of the Government, as communicated to it from time to time by the Minister of Finance." It is worth noting the cautious wording of this definition of function.

The Reserve Bank is to regulate and control credit and currency in New Zealand, the transfer of moneys to or from New Zealand, and the disposal of moneys that are derived from the sale of any New Zealand products. The statutory obligation to convert its notes (it is now the only note-issuing authority in New Zealand) into sterling may be (and actually has been in April 1939) suspended by the Minister of Finance. The bank can underwrite all Government loans and grant accommodation to the Government and Departments of State within definitely prescribed limits. It is very necessary to say that these loans and advances are not given to the Government interest-free. One sometimes hears it implied that the New Zealand Government can get, from the Reserve Bank, all the credit it needs for its schemes and can get it free of interest. It can do nothing of the sort. I think it is true to say that the New Zealand Government has never been able to secure advances at so low a rate as the British Government secures by means of its Treasury Bills. It is true, of course, that the Reserve Bank is not a profit-making bank; but that merely means that its capital has either come out of the taxpayers' pockets and has been deliberately invested in a non-

profit-making institution (in which case the taxpayers forgo the return on their money) or else has been contributed by the public in the form of a loan bearing a fixed rate of interest—4 per cent. actually. On the whole, it is probably a good thing to have a non-profit-making institution as Central Bank; but there is nothing magical about it. The great advantage of a State-controlled Reserve Bank is not strictly an economic one at all: it is a social advantage. Within certain limits, and indeed rather narrow limits, the amount and, still more important, the direction of credit distribution can be influenced, though not arbitrarily controlled, by such an institution. But it would be unwise to set too high hopes on this method as the sure and ideal method of solving our social problems.

The most interesting function of the New Zealand Reserve Bank, up to the present time, is that connected with foreign marketing. The Bank is authorised and expected to grant overdraft accommodation, without any statutory limit as to amount, to certain statutory bodies for the purposes of financing the purchasing and marketing of New Zealand produce. Once more, it is well to remark that this is not free credit: it is merely a substitute for a bill-of-exchange market and functions, financially, in much the same way as to discount or interest and the like.

In 1936 the Primary Products Marketing Act was passed and a special Marketing Department was set up. This Department, which so far has only dealt with dairy produce, has power (and uses it) to buy primary products at prices fixed by a statutory Committee. This price is defined in the Act thus: "Any efficient producer engaged in the dairy industry under usual conditions and in normal circumstances should be assured of a sufficient net return from his business to enable him to maintain himself and his family in a reasonable state of comfort." Since the passing of the Act there have been three price-fixings: 1936-37, 1937-38, and 1938-39; there is a fourth, not yet available, for the current year. The export price f.o.b. for butter in 1934 was 77s. per cwt.; in 1935, 97s. 6d. per cwt. In 1936, when the Act began to operate, the price was 110s. per cwt., while in 1937 it was 114s. per cwt.

The Marketing Department, having paid the farmer the fixed price, is then responsible for the insurance, the shipping and the selling of the butter in England. Its account in the Reserve Bank (begun by an overdraft) is credited with the money received from the sale of the produce and is debited with the price paid to the farmers in New Zealand, with the freight and insurance charges, and with all costs of marketing. If there is a deficit, as there was the first and third years, it is borne by the State; if there is a surplus, it belongs to the State. But Mr. Nash promised, in the 1936-1937 season, that any surplus would be used "for the benefit of the industry." As a matter of fact, there was a small deficit in the first year, but a much larger surplus in the second year. In the accounts of 1938-1939, which have just been published, a sum of about £250,000 has been taken from the general fund to meet a deficit in the Dairy Marketing Account. And at the same time Mr. Nash foresees a deficit in the present year of over £1,000,000 in this account.

A few words may be said about recent New Zealand Budgets. In August 1936 Labour introduced its first Budget: the expenditure was calculated at £N.Z.31,000,000 as against £N.Z.25,000,000 the previous year, and a small surplus was expected and was actually realised—some £500,000. The revenue showed itself extremely buoyant. Altogether the tax revenue in 1936-37 amounted to a £19 14s. 0d. tax per head of population—nearly twice as high as the figure for the twenty-six counties. In this Budget year, 1936-37, it was planned to spend £10,500,000 on "public works": that is, £2,300,000 on railways; £1,500,000 on land improvement; £3,750,000 on roads, and so on. £6,000,000 of this sum was to be borrowed. The Reserve Bank, under its new powers, was authorized and instructed to underwrite a loan of £7,000,000 at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. and to make £5,000,000 available at a low rate for housing, while at the same time it was financing the Dairy Marketing Department to the amount of £4,250,000.

The following year, in September 1937, the Budget speech struck a note of great optimism. Substantial improvement in the help given to the poor, sick, aged, unemployed and

pensioned was noted. The Government's objective was defined as "the more equitable distribution of income." The value of national production had risen from £99,000,000 to £114,000,000; exports from £43,300,000 to £64,000,000; and salaries and wages from £65,700,000 to £85,000,000. The year's revenue was put at £34,750,000, an increase of £3,750,000 on the previous year. A sum of £17,300,000 was to be spent on public works, while the Social Services would cost £12,200,000. Part of the £17,300,000 for public works was, as was traditional, to be raised from loans. This year closed with a substantial surplus of £800,000, with £850,000 carried to a Reserve Fund.

The third Labour Budget of July 1938 provided for still higher expenditure and revenue: £35,790,000 against the £34,400,000 of 1937-38. The cost of Social Services went up by nearly £1,000,000 to £12,775,000; public works cost £20,700,000, of which £14,250,000 was borrowed. Exports in 1937-38 had reached a value of £65,000,000; but owing to the enormous increase in the purchasing power made available by the Government's policy, imports had also shown a steep rise —to £58,000,000. Farm incomes, salaries and wages had reached a record high level. But there was a danger: the great increase in imports despite the fact of the depreciated currency. The excess of exports over imports is, this year, only £3,500,000—an ominous fact for a country with a huge debt domiciled in London. Owing to a small seepage of capital out of the country and the flood of imports brought about by increased wages, pensions, insurance benefits and the expanded public works, the sterling reserves have fallen to a very low level. This has happened during three most prosperous years with exports at their maximum. New Zealand is now, for all practical purposes, a closed economy. While a careful study of the courageous and energetic efforts of the Labour Party since 1935 will yield invaluable lessons and guidance for ourselves, the coming years will, in all probability, be of even greater utility in showing us how to make proper use of that credit control which some day or other we must assume.

E. J. Coyne

CESARE RIPA AND THE DUBLIN STUCCODORES

BY C. P. CURRAN, M.A.

THE eighteenth century did not set the same store by originality as our later day infected by romanticism. In the romantic age originality to the point of eccentricity was a virtue; but its predecessor preferred taste, taste showing itself in a just sense of proportion and the nice disposition of ornament. Adam decorators, who reacted from the brief rococo revolt, were as much at one about this as Blondel or the Palladian architects or Pope. The decorator's point of view is shown in George Richardson's preface to his *Book of Ceilings*, a book of designs published in 1776 for which, according to Horace Walpole, he was paid £1,900. Such a sum may have satisfied his ambitions, but at any rate he claims no copyright for his designs and boasts that some of them have already been patronised as indeed appears from the Edward Robbins ceiling in 32 St. Stephen's Green, repeated in 52 St. Stephen's Green and 34 North Great George's Street, Dublin.

Richardson continues: "And as the general Disposition of the whole and the several Parts are allowed to have been adjusted with Symmetry and Propriety, while at the same time they have the Recommendation of novelty as differing from everything of the kind hitherto offered to the Public, they may, I presume, without Vanity be justly accounted original Productions." He invites Gentlemen to add this book to their collections for use or enjoyment, and invites Architects and Plaisterers to make choice of any parts or ornaments they like from the whole and, by blending them with others, form new ones according to their fancy. And, he is at pains to add, his subjects are taken from Homer, Virgil, Ovid and the Iconology of Cavaliere Ripa.

Richardson's invitation was, of course, issued in the full Adam period—the beginning of eighteenth century decadence

—when repetition of plaster decoration from moulds and a species of mass production was becoming the rule. A list of such repetitions in Dublin houses from 1770 on is easily drawn up, St. Stephen's Green echoing the walls and ceilings of Mountjoy Square and North Great George's Street. To recognise two or three motifs is to recognise all. But the study of the stucco work in our Dublin houses built between 1730 and 1765 leads one to more recondite sources. A spurious folklore, which should not have survived the work of the Georgian Society, attributes this work indiscriminately to Italian craftsmen. There is—perhaps everywhere—a mentality that regards as magnificent every work of the unknown foreigner, as in the case of an Oireachtas usher who, to the question addressed to him by a friend of mine " Is this a Donegal carpet ? " replied : " No, Ma'am ; that is a Dun Emer carpet. Everything here is made in Ireland except them mantelpieces. Them is by artists." There is also the chauvinist mentality to which any suggestion of a foreign influence at work is suspect. The adult, disregarding both opinions, will in this matter of our eighteenth century plaster work find the facts of the case so obvious, so parallel with the development of the craft in France, Germany and England, as to make the truth appear a platitude.

I do not propose here to deal with the craftsmen who decorated these ceilings. Elsewhere I hope to be able to set out the long lists of local plasterers who practised their craft in Dublin from Elizabethan and Jacobean days and to specify in many instances the work of their hands. The line stretches uninterruptedly from generation to generation down to the nineteenth century ; and there is, fortunately, some external evidence to make certain attributions to work which, from its general character, is anonymous. Neither do I propose here to examine in detail the influences under which these men worked in the eighteenth century, but to summarise their general character in a few sentences and to isolate one curious strand in the twisted skein to which, I think, attention has not hitherto been directed.

The stuccodore's craft, which reached its highest develop-

ment here about 1750, is part of the history of rococo. Rococo is a decorative style deriving from Italian baroque. In another line of affiliation it may be regarded as a naturalistic revolt from the classic or, more strictly, from the academic attitude. In countries like South Germany and Austria, where there was no academic tradition, it developed most freely and, whether in the prodigal *décor* of Nymphenburg and of the Reiche Zimmer and Residenz in Munich or in the naivety of Austrian and Bavarian country churches, makes a genuinely popular appeal. It is an essentially decorative style. Divorced from structure, asymmetrical, it expresses itself in all sorts of curvilinear forms, in motifs taken from shells, from the crests of waves and the wings of birds, spiralling, twisting and interlacing in perpetual movement like polyphonic music, introducing in a contemporary spirit naturalistic garlands and floral swags, trophies of music and the arts and incidents of the chase and country pursuits. A characteristic gaiety prevails, and where figures are introduced, they are lightly poised as befits ephemerides whose life is brief; for rococo reigned for only some thirty-five years. It was already dying in 1760.

Rococo is an international style. It derived from the baroque Italy of Borromini and Bernini, but its immediate point of departure was Paris of the Regency and Louis XV. The school of Paris then for the first time became an international focus, and the nationality of its members, as now when Picasso is *chef d'école*, becomes a matter of secondary importance. The traffic with Italy was incessant. Le Brun staffed the ateliers he set up under Colbert with Italian craftsmen, and when the War of the Spanish Succession ended in 1713, the Teutons reinforced the Latins. Meissonier, Verbrecht, Oppenord, Caffieri, Röntgen, Cuvillies, all masters of rococo, are none of French extraction; but working in Versailles and Paris, they carried to the last point of elegance the lighter motifs that Bérain, Marot and Pineau had introduced into Louis XIV baroque and, under the prestige of the French Court, disseminated the new Italo-French style to every quarter of Europe—to Dublin as elsewhere.

In the revival of the plasterer's craft in Dublin about 1730, late Louis XIV motifs are dominant; though the craftsmen are Irish, the fashion is French. Robert West, master of the principal drawing school in Dublin, had come back from his studies with Boucher and Vanloo. His school was soon to be incorporated with the Dublin Society, who planned and carried out with sagacious tenacity a complete scheme of technical training in the crafts. Open free to both sexes—the first of its kind outside Paris—this school, numerously attended as the Society's reports show, was the strongest single force in lifting and maintaining the level of our eighteenth century art. The most important of its three schools was the School of Ornament, and this was under the direction of a Frenchman, Mannin. Working in sympathy with the new taste, it determined, I conceive, the quality of our local craft-work.

In 1739 the growing rococo tendency, which always had to compete with the more conservative taste of the Inigo Jones, Wren, Chambers tradition, was crossed by a more direct Italian influence. When the brothers Francini arrived in 1739 to execute remarkable work at Carton and elsewhere, they introduced not, as has been said more than once, modelled plaster but the modelling in plaster of the human figure in high relief. And in corollary to this they introduced the subject ceiling—the ceiling planned on formal lines with the figure dominating the ornament and giving human interest. Rococo is a system of abstract ornament to which the Italian, who rarely departs far from humanism, reluctantly submits. When, therefore, we see a ceiling powerfully and purposefully conceived to give full effect to the human figure, we may assume Italian influence if not execution. Designs of this sort are not frequent. In the majority of our ceilings, even before 1760, the figure is like the human voice in a Wagner opera. Dublin plaster work shows many examples of a technical competence in no respect inferior to the early Italian models and, in the hands of Robert West,[1] of a singular virtuosity in the treatment of birds. But until the Italian example had

[1] Robert West of Dominick Street—to be distinguished from Robert West the drawing master.

permeated the craft and a new school of local statuaries lent their aid to the plasterers towards the middle of the century, there was no equipoise established between figure and ornament.

At this stage we find a group of houses in O'Connell Street and Parnell Square, in Nos. 9 and 76 St. Stephen's Green, in the Rotunda and Mespil House where the interests of the figure challenges or again rises superior to the floral *décor*. In some of these houses a strong foreign influence is, at least indirectly, present. Cramillion is responsible for the Rotunda Chapel, and Francini influence is possibly in No. 9 St. Stephen's Green. In many of the others the question of authorship is still open; but in the two houses of the first group, in the twin ceilings of Carton and Clanwilliam House (1739 and 1740), we meet for the first time the free plaster treatment of the figure; and it is associated, in the work of the Francini, with the ideas of Cesare Ripa, whose hidden hand persists to the end of the century, operating either by the use of his text book in the schools of design or indirectly through the numerous engravings of the works of Italian and French masters who had already been subject to his influence.

A panel on the staircase of the Stephen's Green Club (No. 9 St. Stephen's Green), a house built before 1756, shows Juno, accompanied by her peacock, leaning from a cloud and extending her sceptre towards an unfortunate whom she is changing into a stork. The transformation is half complete; stork's head, great rattling bill and wings make the upper part of the figure, which continues with human trunk and legs. Seeking the interpretation, it was reasonable to refer to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where one finds the solution in the fate of Antigone the unhappy daughter of Laomedon and sister of Priam :—

Pinxit et Antigonen, ausam contendere quondam
Cum magni consorte Iovis, quam regia Iuno
In volucrem vertit : nec profuit Ilion illi
Laomedonve pater, sumptis quin candida pennis
Ipsa sibi plaudat crepitante ciconia rostro.

(*Met.*, Bk. VI., 93-97).

But however reasonable it might be for an investigator to look up his Ovid, it was not reasonable to assume that the eighteenth century plasterer or his hawk-boy carried the *Metamorphoses* in his kit-bag with his stoppers and straight edge, his laying and smoothing tools. It became necessary to look into the matter further. And then one remembered George Richardson and his reference to the then to me unknown name of the Cavaliere.

The only edition of Ripa's *Iconologia* in Dublin is unfortunately the abbreviated version edited by Baudoin in Paris in 1644. Its title[1] explains the range and purpose of the book; but Baudoin's version—though fully illustrated—appears to be but a meagre revision of the Italian editions, supplying only one personification of a subject where Ripa gives three or more. Some of the gaps may, for the moment, be filled by reference to the fourth volume of Emile Mâle's magistral History of Religious Art, which I shall presently draw upon freely.

Religious art walks between tradition and authority. Familiar with the legends and the written sources—sometimes explicitly doctrinal, sometimes books like the *Biblia Pauperum* and the Bestiaries—from which medieval artists derived their treatment, one has grown into a partial understanding of their work. But the Renaissance ended much of that, and it must be the traveller's common experience to pass indifferently over the allegorical figures that meet his tired eyes on the tombs of the later Popes in Saint Peter's and on the cupolas and walls of the seicento and settecento. The balletomane and amateur of the theatre is equally at a loss when handling the many engravings of pomps and pageants of the same date. Mâle, therefore, wakes a sympathetic echo when he owned himself baffled in churches and galleries by the repetition of the same singular attributes attached to such figures. One day he chanced upon the Iconology of the Chevalier in the library of

[1] *Iconologie.* Hyeroglyphiques des Vertus et des Vices, des Arts, des Sciences . . . et des Passions humaines. Nécessaire à toute sorte d'Esprits et particulièrement à ceux qui aspirent à estre ou qui sont en effet Orateurs, Poètes, Sculpteurs, Peintres, Ingénieurs, Autheurs des Médailles de Devises, de Ballets et de Poèmes Dramatiques. Tirée des Recherches et des Figures de César Ripa. Moralisé par I. Baudoin. Paris 1644.

the Collegio Romano and found in the book the key to riddles that had baffled him. He describes it as an allegorical dictionary in which the author instructs the artist and all concerned how to personify abstract ideas. The first edition of 1593 was not illustrated, but from 1603 no fewer than six editions, illustrated and enriched with fresh allegories, appeared in the author's lifetime. The most complete edition is the posthumous issue published in Venice in 1645. Other versions appeared in Paris and Amsterdam, and there was a significant reissue in 1764. After the eighteenth century the book fell into profound oblivion.

Cesare Ripa was knight of SS. Maurice and Lazarus and an erudite man, but his work is not wholly the work of a pioneer. The curiosity aroused by the hieroglyphs on Egyptian obelisks in Rome had produced, in 1505, the Aldus edition of the *Hieroglyphica* of Horus Apollo and the other *Hieroglyphica* of Piero Valeriano, the protégé of Leo X and Clement VII. But Ripa's research travelled more widely and had a more definite purpose. He worked as a reformer of art in the spirit of the Council of Trent, ransacking the Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church and the classics, ancient and modern, comparing medals and old coins to moralise and personify in a Christian spirit abstract ideas, virtues and vices, natural phenomena and even schools of thought. He tells you, for example, how to personify Predestination and then, with equal erudition, how to represent the elements, the seasons and months, the continents and the rivers of the world. His encyclopedia became a grammar of ornament, a ready reference book for designers, informative and suggestive. In his own lifetime it was drawn upon at canonisation ceremonies. Great artists, like Bernini in 1644 and Domenichino fifteen years earlier, adopt his suggestions and pillage him freely. Engravings from the book make the designs still more widely known, and presently Ripa is the ancestor of a tradition.

Emile Mâle follows his traces up and down 17th and 18th century Italy, through galleries and palaces, into *pompes funèbres* and ballets, and then into France. In the choir of Notre Dame, in Saint Eustache, in the Louvre and Tuileries,

under the dome of the Institute itself, in pictures of Sébastien Bourdon, Simon Vouet, Le Sueur, French artists make use of Ripa or Ripa-Baudoin. Finally, Versailles. In deciding the scheme of decoration of the palace and gardens, Mâle shows Le Brun with Ripa-Baudoin open on his table suggesting themes, grouping the subjects and dictating details of treatment. " On pouvoit croire," he concludes, " que les allégories de Versailles représentaient un aspect de l'esprit français du XVIIme siècle ; on voit qu'il n'en est rien et qu'elles expriment le goût italien de la fin du XVIme siècle."

Mâle follows Ripa no further than Versailles. Had he carried his research further, he would have found that Ripa, in the eighteenth century, reached this ultimate occidental land and was made welcome by our artificers to our houses : *Tendebantque manus Ripae ulterioris amore.* Turning into the large drawingroom of the St. Stephen's Green Club from the staircase landing with the panel I have mentioned, one finds a remarkable ceiling dating circa 1755. Floral borders, *putti*, birds and stylised monsters make up the usual rococo *décor*, engaging and linking up three other subjects : the four elements, the four seasons, and a great centrepiece moulded in high relief. I will not detail here the fidelity with which the elements and seasons are reproduced according to the Ripa formula. Their grace—note especially the admirable Winter—is their own. But the iconology of the centrepiece is of greater interest. A seated female figure in strongly moulded drapery, with plumed casque on head and shield uplifted on the left arm and sword in right hand, leans back upon clouds. Above and to the right of the shield, which is seen from behind, there is a tower lying obliquely and straddled by a *putto*. A lion emerges to the right. Turn now to page 391 of Mâle or to any good book on Domenichino and look at the Virtues painted by him on the spandrels in the church of San Carlo ai Catinari in Rome. They are amongst his best known work and have been frequently engraved. Their iconology is scrupulously borrowed from Ripa, enhanced I need not say by the genius of the artist. One of them is Fortitude and in matter and form is almost identical with the centrepiece I

have described. The similar attitude of the *putto* straddling the tower is particularly notable. In the lower part of the spandrel Domenichino carries through the idea of self-possession by showing a young man aiming a shaft at and subduing the lion. Lest you think this is missing in St. Stephen's Green, look above Fortitude's shoulder into the clouds and you will see another *putto* shooting an arrow at the lion from his little bow. A gay rococo twist is given to Roman gravity.

There are still further borrowings from Ripa in the small drawingroom. But let us pass from them to a single detail in Mespil House built in 1751-2. The seasons and the elements are again represented here—but with a clarity of design and with a grace and perfection of modelling as make this ceiling the supreme achievement of Dublin rococo. In some details there is a resemblance—*e.g.*, the castellated Earth —with the St. Stephen's Green Club ceiling, since both observe fidelity to Ripa's general scheme. In Mespil House fire is shown, as prescribed by Ripa, with the blazing sun, phoenix and salamander ; and air, with her flying drapery, is accompanied (as Ripa says she should be) by the peacock, favourite of Juno, the queen of the air and other birds. And Ripa goes on : " and a chameleon because, according to Pliny, this marvellous animal lives only on air." On reading which I sped back to Mespil House, and with an opera glass found that what I had thought was a small bird with folded wings in the lap of Air was no bird but the chameleon ordained by Ripa—Shakespeare's " air-crammed " chameleon.

And so one might proceed from ceiling to ceiling in many Dublin houses of the eighteenth century. Is it to be assumed, therefore, that all such ceilings are the work of Italians ? No more than that Le Brun and Le Sueur were Italians. There is ample external evidence of the close contact of our local craftsmen with French and Italian influences other than the teaching of the Paris-trained West in the Dublin Society's drawing school or the appointment of Mannin in 1746 to its school of ornament. I have had, for example, a recent opportunity of examining the original designs of Michael Stapleton, the builder and chief Dublin stuccodore of the last

quarter of the eighteenth century. He was born too late to work in the rococo manner; the elaborate decoration of Belvidere House, as I shall have occasion later to show, is the work of his hands. Amongst the drawings which lay in his studio are many engraved plates of an earlier date, the objects very probably of his youthful study, and these in great part are the work of French rococo artists: Bérain, Pineau, Chéreau, Oppenord and the Italians Annibale Carracci and Pozzi. But some of our earlier ceilings—and here again Ripa enters—are the unquestionable work of the Francini brothers, the only Italians of whom we have any record. The saloon in Carton (1739) is their first and most splendid work in this country. The ceiling is not allegorical and does not deal with abstractions. It represents the courtships of the gods; and so far as one can see from photographs, there are not any such attributes or accessories as might not as well be derived from the familiar classics as from Ripa. It has not, to my knowledge, been put in relation with the fine ceiling in the saloon of Clanwilliam House (85 St. Stephen's Green) which was executed in the following year. I am satisfied that an examination of these two ceilings and a comparison of their other work in Ireland and in Bath and elsewhere will establish the Francini as the artists responsible for the main decoration of Clanwilliam House. Let me recall the chief features of these ceilings, under one of which the present writer spent many hours in old University College days. A wide coving supports the long rectangle of the Carton ceiling. The rectangle is divided into three compartments, and from the central one Jove hurls his thunderbolt. The chief decoration is along the cove, which carries six ovals broken into quatrefoils interrupted by the cornice. These quatrefoils contain each reclining pairs of amorous deities. The ovals are linked by flamboyant scrolls and floral swags upon which *putti* swing, and busts of the classical poets complete the design. Clanwilliam House has precisely the same plan, but not so elaborately filled—it was not a ducal mansion. We have the same rectangle, but with a plain surface, and a wide coving again carries the main decoration; the same six quatrefoils,

unbroken here by the cornice, contain the chief interest in pairs of reclining figures, and the whole is connected with scrolls and floral swags supported by *putti*. The *putti* are reduced in number, though their function is the same, and the busts are eliminated. The ceiling is, in fact, a variant of Carton, with repetition in the gesture of Iris clutching a rainbow. But in Clanwilliam House, as if foreseeing their ultimate destiny, these figures constitute an allegorical scheme. The house and this ceiling are at the moment in process of reparation and scaffolding makes it difficult to examine the figures in detail; but taking the two shorter walls, we find Prudence or Wisdom with her serpent and mirror, personified in exact accordance with Ripa; and opposite may be seen Justice with *putti* bearing her crown and scales, according to the correct Ripa formula. Again, on the long northern wall and next to the Iris panel, Generosity or Liberality pours from her cornucopeia diadems, strings of pearls and coins—again exemplifying Ripa's prescription—while her left hand, twining in her companion's arm, plunges a directing rudder into waves—thus distinguishing her in very characteristic Ripa fashion from Prodigality whose generosity is ill-directed. I have little doubt that a fuller examination and collation of all the figures in this ceiling with the complete edition of Ripa would reveal other analogies. For the moment, reference to Mâle at pp. 390, 392 and 396 will confirm and supplement these resemblances, and a further comparison of the figure of Justice with Domenichino's treatment of the same subject on a second spandrel in San Carlo ai Catinari connects this ceiling with Ripa and him and with the Fortitude in the Stephen's Green Club. Other links are present in the decoration of the ground floor. Passing down the staircase and noting on the way the hitherto unidentified La Touche arms[1] in two little rococo cartouches—their mullets can be seen in the handsome wrought iron grille—we find Apollo and the Muses in the panels of the morning room, the ninth isolated in a closet after nineteenth century reconstruction. These figures

[1] George La Touche bought the house in 1818. Is it fanciful to see further trace of his occupation in the prominent display of the seeded pomegranate on the saloon mantelpiece ?

follow the strict Ripa ordinance and, like the figures in the saloon, are conceived in the Francini spirit.

I have perhaps said enough by way of introducing Ripa to modern Ireland. I have said little or nothing of his quaint and subtle inventions nor of the wise saws and Christian instances with which he reinforces his moral and artistic propaganda. He differs from his few predecessors and from his Milanese contemporary Andrea Alciato in the precision of his iconology, devised for the express purpose of artists, though Alciato (it is true), for all his devotion to morality and to elaborately contrived obscurities, does not fail to point out the usefulness of his emblems to wall and pavement artists, to milliners, jewellers and seal engravers. Ripa made his appeal both to artists and men of letters. Much could be written of his relation to literature and to that forgotten series wherein the Jesuit Herman Hugo, in his illustrated *Pia Desideria*, borrowed from Alciato and Quarles borrowed from Hugo.

But the inevitable reaction came and James Barry, R.A. at the close of the century, delivered himself with customary vehemence. He finds "even some of the greatest artists deservedly censured for the obscurity of their emblematic and allegoric refinements. Many parts of Raphael's pictures of Jurisprudence and Justice are unintelligible. The same may be said of many things in the galleries of the Luxembourg and Versailles . . . from the jargon of far-fetched and over-refined allegory. What must be said then of Ripa and others who have been at the pains of raking together all this offal of the imagination."

Europe of the seventeenth century had a passion for these emblems. The rococo artist converted them later to his own less serious intent; but the neo-classic taste, the Louis XVI and Adam style in France and England, submerged Ripa and rococo alike. From Edward Smyth's sculpture on the Four Courts and on the garden front of the King's Inns the curious may see Ripa's spirit take wing to a more divine aether, away from a world of rococo and pagan classicism, equally antipathetic to his grave purpose.

C. P. Curran

BREST-LITOVSK AND HITLER'S UKRAINIAN AMBITIONS

BY CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

IT is common, when Germans complain of the Treaty of Versailles, to appeal to the Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest for evidence of what the Germans would have done, had they won the war. I am not sure that the argument is a very good one. Few people can doubt that, if the Germans had won the war, they would have imposed a very drastic peace. But to say that is not to prove Versailles wise. And in any event there is not quite a parallel between the Allies at Versailles and the Germans at Brest-Litovsk. The Allies at Versailles were victorious. They had no immediate enemy to fear. It can well be pleaded that they could have afforded to be generous. The Germans at Brest-Litovsk were still engaged in a war of which the issue was more than doubtful. It is perhaps a little hard to blame them if, when they considered the problems of the Ukraine, they thought rather of obtaining food for their starving people than of the eternal principles.

But, apart from that, was the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk so wholly indefensible ? I have just been reading Mr. Wheeler-Bennett's most admirably written and fascinating *Brest-Litovsk, the Forgotten Peace.*[1] He brings out very clearly—what is most certainly true—that there were two schools of German thought at Brest-Litovsk. There was the General Staff, represented by General Hoffmann and dominated by Hindenburg and Ludendorff, which was indifferent what pious principles might be enunciated but determined that the Treaty should leave the Baltic provinces under German control, so that the Germans might use them as a jumping-off ground in their next war. But over against the General Staff stood von Kuhlmann, the civilian diplomat. It was von Kuhlmann who

[1] Macmillan. 1938. 21s.

was responsible for accepting the Bolshevik formula of self-determination, and it was his wish, if it should be possible, to conclude at Brest-Litovsk a genuinely negotiated treaty which could at least pretend to be in obedience to that principle.

It may be that von Kuhlmann had a sincere belief in the formula of self-determination and a real hope that the future peace of the world could be built on it. But those who, like Mr. Wheeler-Bennett, are reluctant to concede to him this degree of sincerity, are at any rate ready to admit that he had a more immediate motive for wishing to apply the formulas of self-determination with some appearance of honesty. He was well acquainted with the military situation on the Western Front. He was well aware that all was to be staked on a last desperate offensive there in the next spring. His own General Staff was, he thought, absurdly over-optimistic and success was more than doubtful. It was therefore most probable, he argued, that before long a defeated Germany would be suing for peace from the Allies, and their chances of obtaining tolerable terms would be greatly increased, if they should be in a position to point out that, when Germany was victorious, she was moderate towards a defeated foe. He was cynical enough to dismiss the arguments of the militarists as a folly ; for, if they imposed excessive terms on the Russians, those terms would do them no good, as they would certainly be cancelled by the Allies at the larger Peace Conference.

But it is important to look beyond moral condemnation of the German General Staff to the Treaty itself. Was it so bad as all that ? It freed Poland from Russia ; there can be no doubt that the Poles wished to be freed. The evidence by which the Germans sought to prove the desire of the Baltic peoples for freedom was certainly not above suspicion. They declared that these people had already opted for secession from Russia on the evidence of the resolutions of some patently hand-picked assemblies. The argument was hardly serious. The Germans were taking no chances and were not going to allow themselves to be entangled in delays and controversies about valid votes. At the same time there is little doubt that the Baltic peoples were genuinely glad of an excuse to be free

from Russia. Their record during the last twenty years has been a most respectable one, and it would have been a tragedy and a barbarity had they been forced under the Bolshevik rule.

The war ended before the Germans had had time finally to settle the status which those territories were to hold under the Brest-Litovsk system, but there can be no doubt that it was the German intention only to allow to them a very limited independence; and, though it is certain that they were glad to be free from the Bolsheviks, there is no reason at all to think that they wished for the rule of the Germans in their place. It would therefore be going too far to paint the Germans as the willing liberators of the Baltic peoples. They were liberators *malgré eux*. They freed them from the Bolsheviks, but collapsed before they had had time to make themselves the new masters.

It is perhaps not quite so certain that the Ukrainians wished to be free from the Bolsheviks, but at least it can be said that there is no particular reason to think that they did not. Neither the Bolsheviks nor the Germans ever made any serious pretence of honestly discovering the wishes of the Ukrainians. It was necessity which drove the Germans on to the Ukraine. And, whereas the Baltic provinces were to play a part in future strategic plans, the Ukraine was to perform the very immediate service of providing food for the hungry people of Germany and still more of Austria. The results from it were, as it happened, most disappointing.

Therefore the Germans recognised the Rada Government as the Government of the Ukraine and insisted on continuing to recognise it as such, even when it was manifest that it had little hold on the affections of the people. The Bolsheviks attacked the Rada and drove it out of Kiev. Trotzky declared with bitter sarcasm that it represented no territory other than that of the rooms in its hotel in Brest-Litovsk, and the German General Hoffmann privately admitted that "Trotzky's words seemed unfortunately not to be without foundation." Nevertheless the Germans insisted on recognising it as the Government of the Ukraine. After the signing of the Treaty they

restored it by force of arms, and then, when it did not prove sufficiently efficient in collecting the grain which they wanted, unceremoniously deposed it and put in its place the Government of Skoropadsky, quite frankly dependent on German bayonets.

Yet it is only fair to recall the tribute to these German bayonets paid by one who is assuredly no blind friend of Germany, Mr. Winston Churchill. He writes in the *Aftermath*: "In the Ukraine these same Germans came as deliverers and were spontaneously recognised as such, not only by the general population but by those patriotic elements most hostile to the invaders of Russia. A dose of Communism induces a desire in any population to welcome any other form—even the harshest—of civilized authority. With the arrival of the German 'steelhelmets' life again became tolerable." And, at the Armistice, the Allies insisted in it that the German troops should for the moment remain on in the Ukraine. It was not naturally through admiration of the Germans or through love of the Ukrainians that they made this stipulation. It was with the hope of preserving the Ukraine from the Bolsheviks; for it was calculated that, without the Ukrainian corn-fields to feed the North, the Bolshevik regime was bound to collapse. However, the German troops themselves had been infected with Bolshevism and were rotten with war-weariness. Whatever agreements were made, it was not possible to keep them to their posts to defend a cause for which they had no sympathy; and thus the Bolsheviks were able to achieve their purpose, which was (to quote Lenin) to "slip in between departing German militarism and approaching Anglo-French militarism." The subsequent attempts of White leaders to dislodge them ended of course in failure. But Bolshevism was never in any real sense accepted by the people of the Ukraine. The extraordinarily large number of suicides and executions among Ukrainian leaders seems to suggest that separatist feelings are still strong among the Ukrainians. How strong they are, the Bolshevik regime of course does not allow us to know, and caution naturally advises us to accept with reserve the confident prophecies of exiles that the whole

country is ripe for revolt. Emigrés throughout all history have always tended to exaggerate the discontent with the régime at home.

The air is full to-day of talk about the aggressive German policy towards Russia. But it is only fair to emphasise also the aggressive Russian policy towards Germany in the years immediately after the war. Lenin, accepting the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, was by no means a beaten man meekly accepting his defeat. It was rather his theory that the revolution was destined to be international. Chance had established it first in Russia, but Russia was on the periphery of the world. He neither expected that it would remain a purely Russian affair nor intended it to do so. Moscow was but a stage on the road to Berlin. It was necessary for the movement to preserve at all costs a revolutionary government in Moscow, but with the defeat of the Central Powers, Lenin confidently counted on being able to impose Communism on Germany and indeed on all Central Europe. It was only the unexpectedly vigorous resistance of Noske that prevented him. And, when it proved impossible to establish Communism by spontaneous revolution, it was Lenin's next plan to impose it by invasion. In the war of 1920 with Poland, Warsaw was confessedly but a stepping-stone on the road to Berlin. "We will all die," said Lenin with vicarious fervour, "to help the German workers in the cause of the movement forward of the revolution beginning in Germany." The Russian Revolution was but a step to the German Revolution. Berlin, with its central position, was destined to be the effective headquarters of the International. "We must not forget," writes Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, "that the international Jew, who continues to dominate Russia, does not regard Germany as an ally, but as a State destined to undergo a similar fate. The menace which Russia suffered under is one which perpetually hangs over Germany; Germany is the next great objective of Bolshevism." Whatever may be our feelings about the relevance of the phrase "international Jew," the rest of Herr Hitler's judgement is certainly entirely correct.

It was only after the defeat before Warsaw that the Bol-

sheviks abandoned their first hope of an easy aggression against the West. Their new policy was to attack the West through the East. By supporting every nationalist movement in all the non-European countries—China, India and the rest—they hoped to be able to throw the whole East into a ferment; and ferment in the East, causing economic dislocation in the West, would in its turn create a revolutionary situation there. "The real revolution will blaze up," said Zinoviev at Baku in September 1920, "only when the 800,000,000 people who live in Asia unite with us, when the African Continent unites, when we see that hundreds of millions of people are in movement. Now we must kindle a real holy war against the British and French capitalists . . . We must say that the hour has struck when the workers of the whole world are able to arouse tens and hundreds of millions of peasants, to create a Red army in the East, to arm and organise uprisings in the rear of the British, to poison the existence of every impudent British officer who lords it over Turkey, Persia, India, China. When the capitalists of Europe say that there is a menace of a new wave of barbarism, a new wave of Huns, we reply, Long live the Red East."

This policy meant that directly subversive work in the Western countries must for the moment be damped down and the Bolsheviks, in need (as they now were with Lenin's New Economic Policy) of Western capital, were anxious, if possible, to establish formally correct and commercial relations with Western countries. The obstacle came from the Western countries, who, not unnaturally, had no enthusiasm for the strengthening of a regime which was confessedly going to use its strength for such purposes as those sketched out by Zinoviev. But these objections to co-operation with the Bolsheviks, which were so strongly felt in England and France, were naturally felt much less strongly in Germany. For Germany was indifferent to attacks on Imperialism, since she had already been barred out by Versailles from any share in the rewards, such as they were, of Imperial ownership. Russia and Germany were, for their different reasons, treated as pariah nations. It was therefore most natural that, as soon

as the Bolsheviks had abandoned their plans for immediate overthrow of the German Government, the two Powers should come together to escape from their isolation. Therefore, under the inspiration of General von Seeckt and the German General Staff, the Germans and Russians signed the agreement of Rapallo on April 3, 1922, and followed it up by the Non-Aggression Treaty of 1926.

The German regime of the 1920's had in itself of course no sympathy at all with Communism. It developed its relations with the Bolsheviks in order to frighten the Western Powers into readmitting it into their comity, so as to prevent the challenge of a full military alliance against them. Locarno, to a large extent marked the success of this policy.

The situation was greatly changed by the world's economic collapse at the beginning of the present decade. There was no country that suffered more in that collapse than Germany. For Herr Brüning could not—or at least thought that he could not—suspend the gold standard, and Germany therefore was submitted to the most drastic deflation of which history has record. The consequence of economic suffering was, as always and as all know, that moderate political parties lost influence and extreme parties gained it. Both the Communists and the Nazis gained at the expense of the Parliamentary parties. But the Communists, in Germany as in other countries, were handicapped by the necessity of obedience to the somewhat infantile and ignorant dictation of the Comintern in Moscow, and the Nazis succeeded in installing themselves in power.

Now Herr Hitler either had, or at least professed to have, a very deep horror of the poison of Marxian Communism. From the first he turned on the German domestic Communists —but, to begin with, professed that he had no intention of picking a quarrel with Russia. But it soon proved impossible to maintain the distinction. The Bolsheviks, on their part, gave plenty of excuse for hostility. They joined the League of Nations and gave themselves openly to the task of trying to mobilise that body against Nazi Germany. And, in any event, it is doubtful if Herr Hitler ever had any sincere intention of avoiding the challenge.

The story of the relations between Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia has been a tortuous and tempestuous one. Many pages in it are still obscure—particularly those that tell of the treason of the allegedly disloyal Russian Generals and Communist leaders, who were accused of intrigues with Germany. But here as elsewhere Herr Hitler has followed with surprising fidelity the gospel of *Mein Kampf*, and his general aims are, I think, tolerably clear.

In *Mein Kampf* Herr Hitler writes : " We (the National Socialists) stop the perpetual migration towards the south and west of Europe and fix our gaze on the lands in the east . . . When we talk of new lands in Europe, we are bound to think first of Russia and the border states." " We begin again where we left off six centuries ago," he writes ; " when Germany needs room for expansion, she must go south-east to the Ukraine, where she can make herself master of territory sufficient to accommodate 200,000,000 Germans."

There are some people who are so anti-German that without hesitation they oppose everything that the Germans want simply because the Germans want it. This surely is not an intelligent attitude. If by a quiet word of advice one could persuade the Nazis to foreswear spectacular ambitions, it would be wise to speak that word, simply because conflicts, like fires, have a habit of spreading even when there is no inherent reason why they should do so. The world is in too dangerous a condition for this to be the time to encourage tricks. Yet, since there seems but little chance that the Nazis can be thus easily dissuaded from adventure, it is well to make up our minds about their ambitions. There are other ambitions concerning which it is necessary to have anxiety, but I must confess that their Ukrainian ambitions seem to me neither as immoral nor as alarming as they are often represented to be. They seem to me highly dangerous—for the Nazis—and will very likely bring them to destruction ; but I see no reason at all why we in the West should interfere with them even if the Nazis are determined on the attempt.

Whatever our feelings towards the imposition of Nazi Government in other countries, in Ukrainia it would be nothing

but a deliverance. For, whatever its faults, it would be a great deal less tyrannical than the Russian Government which it supplanted. Whatever the restrictions on religion, they could not be greater than those which the land to-day suffers under Bolshevik rule.

It does not seem likely that the Germans, in the event of victory, intend to annex the Ukraine. But the question is not what they intend to do, but what they will succeed in doing. Unless the Russian regime should be found in such utter collapse that it can put up no fight at all, the Germans may find it by no means so easy to conquer the Ukraine as is sometimes imagined. The record of invaders of Russia throughout history has been by no means an encouraging one. Men draw an absolute comparison between the Russian and the German military forces and reach a conclusion to German advantage, but it is by no means certain that the comparison is a valid one. In these days, when the hatred and fear of war is so much greater than ever before in history, more even than in the past, victory is apt to go not so much to the stronger side as to the side that is the more determined on victory. The Russians in such a war will have the inestimable advantage of fighting in defence of their own territory. A German from the Rhineland may perhaps be persuaded to give his intellectual assent to schemes for German Imperial adventure into the Ukraine. But the question is not whether he believes in them but how much he believes in them. He is not likely to be wildly enthusiastic about them. He is not likely to be persuaded into the enthusiasm for them which has been aroused in him for the liberation of allegedly oppressed Germans outside the Reich. Will he believe in them sufficiently to be willing to endure hunger or death for their realisation, if victory should chance not to come easily? When the Germans sent troops into the Ukraine in 1918, it was found that the troops, sent to suppress Bolshevism, became themselves rapidly infected with Bolshevism. And in the same way to-day, if Hitler should ever go into the Ukraine, I feel that it is quite likely that he would never come out again.

Even if he should succeed in establishing his independent

Ukraine without destroying his own regime in Germany, he would not be at the end but merely at the beginning of his difficulties. Whether in Spain or in Russia, people to-day greatly underrate the difficulties of running one country as a puppet of another. How could a distant country hold to its policies an enormous area of the size of the Ukraine and with forty million inhabitants, even if it wanted to? "You can do everything with bayonets except sit on them;" and, if the Ukrainians made up their minds that they would not follow German policy, no power on earth could in the long run compel them to do so. The Germans could only succeed by winning Ukrainian consent.

It is true of course that there is a certain cause for anxiety about Germany's Russian policy, as there is a certain cause for anxiety about all that Germany does. The very existence of such a state as Nazi Germany is itself a cause for anxiety. The Germans may achieve their Eastern ambitions with surprising ease and may then, forgetful of all fair promises, turn to rend England and France in the West. But I cannot myself see why those who are for ever warning us that Herr Hitler means all that he said in *Mein Kampf* are especially apprehensive of his Ukrainian schemes. If he means all that he says, then it should surely be a great comfort to Englishmen and Frenchmen that he bids his people "stop the perpetual migration towards the south and west of Europe and fix our gaze on the land in the East." What could suit us better? I can understand the Poles being anxious. If a genuine Ukrainian nationalist movement should grow up, the Poles would be wise to sacrifice to it their Ukrainian territories, but they are justified in some anxiety about the treatment that they would receive from Herr Hitler for the crime of being in the way of a Russo-German conflict. In *Mein Kampf* Herr Hitler speaks of them as "inferiors" and classes their children with Jews, negroes and Asiatics. But then, as a result of Poland's sad geographical position, everything that happens is a cause of anxiety to the Poles. They suffer equally when Germany goes east and when Russia goes west.

The reason why I have little doubt that Germany's larger

ambitions are destined not to be realised is demographic. As readers of *Mein Kampf* will remember, the whole argument of the book is based on the assumption that Germany will during the century attain to a population of some 200 million and therefore some room for her expansion must be found. Herr Hitler is by no means the only political thinker who has sketched out his policy on the assumption that the twentieth century will be, like the nineteenth, a century of a rapidly expanding population. But is the assumption at all likely to prove true? As we all know, the twentieth century is much more likely to see a decline in the numbers of European man. It is true that Herr Hitler is fighting a battle against the declining birth-rate. Whatever we may think of other aspects of his policy, whatever we may think of his motive for this battle, yet Catholics cannot but be sympathetic to him in it. And, if Herr Hitler should succeed in increasing German population while the population of all surrounding nations is falling, his case for increased territory will be a strong one. But it is highly unlikely that he will be successful. The birthrate is a mysterious thing, and all experience proves that it cannot be easily raised by legislation or by Government propaganda. It appears that the Nazis have succeeded in raising it, but that appearance is but a trick of statistics. The Nazis have offered loans to enable couples to marry early, and, as a result, during the first years of their rule both those who married late and those who married early are having their first babies, and there is an appearance of a steep rise in the birth-rate. But there is little reason to think that one bachelor Führer has persuaded the Germans to have larger families. And, if there are not larger families, then there will be no increase in German population. The present birth-rate is only sufficient to stabilise the population at round about its present figure. If so, there will be no superfluous population to flow out, whether to Africa or the Ukraine.

CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

THE ORIGINS OF THE ANGLO-IRISH THEATRE

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IN his very attractive volume on *Anglo-Irish Literature* (1200-1582) (Cambridge, 1929) Archdeacon Seymour discusses the problem of medieval religious drama in Ireland. The evidence which he cites is, it must be admitted, far from convincing. Yet there can be little doubt that Archdeacon Seymour is right in his main contention : that the religious drama, which was so widely spread in all the countries of Western Europe during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was well established here in Ireland among the English settlers in the Pale. The absence of all dramatic literature in the native Irish literary tradition is one of the most striking and puzzling facts in the history of Celtic civilisation. Since the Anglo-Irish theatre has come to play so important a part in the life of modern Ireland, it may be of interest to review once more the evidence adduced by Archdeacon Seymour, and to add to it some new evidence which I have had the good fortune to discover in the past few months.

Among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library there is a Sarum Processional, written in a fourteenth century hand, now known as Rawlinson Liturg. D.4. There is nothing to show that this manuscript was written in Ireland, but it belonged to the parish church of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin, in the fifteenth century. This manuscript contains a Latin version of the Easter Drama known as *Quem Quaeritis*, of which other versions are also extant.[1] It is a simple but effective dramatisation of the Easter story, with parts for six actors : the three Marys, Peter, John and the Angel.

Is there any reason for believing that this version of the Easter Drama was acted here in Ireland ? In addition to the Rawlinson MS., there is a second fourteenth-century text of

[1] Text in E. K. Chambers : *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), II, pp. 315-318.

this same version, not so good, now in Marsh's Library, Dublin (MS. V.3.2.10).[1] This manuscript also belonged to the same parish church of St. John the Evangelist. The most natural conclusion from this coincidence is to suppose that the two copies were used here in Dublin for performances of this liturgical drama, which was normally produced in English towns under the direction of the clergy. No record has survived of these Dublin performances, nor is it likely that they should be dated back as far as the fourteenth century. The manuscripts were most probably English manuscripts, brought over to this country by English settlers or visitors.

Archdeacon Seymour's next piece of evidence is the text of a miracle play, dating from the late fifteenth century and written in English, not Latin. The play deals with the desecration of the Blessed Sacrament by a Jew, the miracles that followed his act, the discovery of his sacrilege, and his final conversion to the Christian faith. It is known as the *Play of the Sacrament*, and a local allusion at the beginning of the text tells us that it was written for production at Croxton.[2] Croxton was so common a name in medieval England that this allusion helps us little, but the dialect in which the play is written suggests the Eastern Midlands, where there are five villages of this name. Why should we connect this play with Ireland ? The sole surviving text is to be found in a fifteenth-century manuscript, now among the Madden MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (MS. F. IV. 20); but that fact proves nothing, for Trinity College owns a large number of medieval texts, most of them collected from English sources. The Dublin text is written in two hands, and one of the two copyists spells his Middle English with faults that are usually held to be characteristic of the medieval Dublin dialect. This fact has led the editors of the *Play of the Sacrament* to conclude that it was most probably copied in part by an Irish (or rather an Anglo-Irish) scribe. The text, which is now bound into a volume with several other

[1] Text in Manly : *Specimens of Pre-Shakesperean Drama* (1897), I, p. xxii.
[2] Text in O. Waterhouse : *The Non-Cycle Mystery Plays*, in *Early English Texts Society*, Extra Ser. 104 (1909), pp. 54-87.

pieces of miscellaneous character, was formerly a separate booklet. It may thus have been a Dublin book of the fifteenth century; but it would be rash to push the evidence so far. Possibly this miracle play was copied here in Dublin, for production at some Dublin festival. That is all we can say with safety.

The next piece of evidence is more curious. Among the many hundreds of medieval documents formerly preserved in the archives of Christ Church, Dublin, was a parchment roll of accounts dating from the year 1343.[1] This roll had been stitched to other rolls at a later date, making a composite document of four parts, all dating from the years 1337-1346. On blank spaces left in the 1343 membrane two separate hands have written portions of the text of an English morality play, which has been printed with the modern title *The Pride of Life*.[2] Once again, the text is plainly of English origin, though nothing more definite can be said as to its exact locality. But its date can be fixed with fair probability to the early fifteenth century. Most probably a hundred years had gone by since the parchment roll of accounts had first been made out by some canon of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin. Then some English visitor came to the Priory's guest-house with a copy of this early morality play: so at least the story of our text is most easily reconstructed. Morality plays were a novelty at that time, and this Dublin text is in fact the earliest known text of an English morality play. The visitor showed his book to some of the canons in the Priory, and they were eager to make a copy. Parchment was scarce in Dublin: so this old roll of accounts, with its convenient blank spaces, was produced and utilized. Two men set to work, most probably in haste, making this copy. Either they had not time to copy the whole text, or else the second half of the play was copied on some other document now lost. In any case, no more than a fragment of the play survives to-day.

James Mills, who first printed this important text in 1891,

[1] Text in James Mills: *Account Roll of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin* (Dublin, 1891).

[2] Text in Waterhouse, *loc. cit.*, pp. 88-104; see also pp. lxiv foll., for an account of the MS.

writes as follows : " This literary treasure, hurriedly copied by two of the canons of the Priory four and a half centuries ago, may have been acted in the church, or the streets of Dublin, where it is almost certain that miracle plays were at this time familiar. Then, having served its turn, it does not appear ever to have attracted attention again until the roll was examined in the Public Record Office." Archdeacon Seymour repeats this attractive conjecture ; but it is not easy to see how the canons of Christ Church could have produced a play with no more than a fragmentary text. At least they saved it for posterity ; for the Priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin, was not dissolved, like other monastic churches, under Henry VIII. Its archives were thus kept intact down to the middle of the nineteenth century. Then there was question of rebuilding the Cathedral, and the archives were moved, for greater safety, to the Dublin Record Office in 1872. Just fifty years later this roll, with all the other Christ Church Deeds, perished in the disaster of 1922.[1]

Another English mystery play, *Abraham's Sacrifice*, is preserved in a manuscript now in Trinity College, Dublin (MS. D. IV. 18) : another volume from the Ussher collection.[2] This text used to be claimed as the text of one of the old Dublin mystery plays of the fifteenth century, but it has now been recognised as of English origin. Most probably again it was composed in the East Midlands, perhaps at Northampton.

We come now to the actual records of performances here in Ireland of those mystery plays and morality plays, which were so popular in France and England during the later Middle Ages. The evidence, though suggestive, is again inconclusive. The City of Dublin is fortunate in possessing two old medieval volumes, which have come down to us from the days of the Anglo-Irish city, and three medieval Assembly Rolls.[3] These are known to-day as the White Book and the Chain Book. The Chain Book contains entries from the

[1] There is an eighteenth-century copy of most of these deeds, known as the *Novum Registrum* (3 vols.) in the archives of Christ Church, Dublin.

[2] See Waterhouse, *loc. cit.*, pp. xliii foll.

[3] These records have all been printed by J. T. Gilbert in his *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, vol. I (1889).

fifteenth century to the reign of Queen Anne, which have been entered in the Book without any regard for chronological order or logical sequence. The following entry occurs on fol. 56 b :

" Corpus Christi day a pagentis :
The pagentis of Corpus Christi day, made by an olde law and confermed by a semble befor Thomas Collier, Maire of the Citte of Divelin, and Juries Baliffes and commones, the iiiith Friday next after midsomer, the xiii yere of the reign of King Henri the VIIth [1498]."

This entry is followed by a full list of the various plays or scenes represented in the great annual pageant of the city, with the names of the various guilds responsible for the production of each scene and with the fine for failure in the fulfilment of this duty. The Glovers, for example, were responsible for Adam and Eve " with an angill followyng berryng a swerde " : the fine was forty shillings. The Shoemakers (Corvisers) were responsible for Cain and Abel " with an auter and the ofference." The Mariners, Vintners, Ship-Carpenters and Fishermen (Samountakers) were jointly responsible for one of the principal features of the pageant : " Noe and his shipp, apparalid acordyng." The other guilds mentioned are the Weavers, Smiths, Cloth-shearers, Bakers, Slaters, Cooks, Masons, Skinners, House-Carpenters, Tanners, Brewers, Goldsmiths, Coopers, Tailors, Barbers, Merchants, Butchers and the Corpus Christi Guild of the city. The parts they had to represent were Abraham, Isaac, Pharaoh, Saint Joseph, Our Lady and the Child, Moses with the Children of Israel, the porters with the camel, the Three Kings of Cologne, the Shepherds and the Angel, Christ in His Passion, Pilate, Annas and Caiphas, the Apostles, the Prophets and the Executioners. In addition to these personages, who are familiar figures in the medieval mystery play of *Adam*, there are two items peculiar to this Dublin pageant. The Mayor of the Bull-Ring in the city was responsible for the presentation of the Nine Worthies, who seem to have been borrowed from another popular play of that name ; whilst a body whose

name Gilbert reads doubtfully as *Courteours* were responsible for King Arthur and his Knights.[1]

Immediately after this list in the Chain Book, there is a second list, almost identical with the first, mentioning the same guilds and the same representations in this Corpus Christi pageant. It is headed "The Pagentys of Corpus Christi Processioun." Here the "Courteours" are allotted either the Nine Worthies or Arthur with his Knights; whilst the Mayor of the Bull-Ring is allotted the Nine Worthies. A third copy of the same list has been printed by Harris from one of Ware's papers.[2] It is identical with the first of the two lists in the Chain Book, but omits all mention of the "Courteours" and the Mayor of the Bull-Ring.

Finally, there is an entry which was formerly to be found in the Chain Book, written on one of the many pages that are now missing from that venerable relic of old Dublin days. A copy of it was made in the seventeenth century, which is now among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum.[3] This entry gives the order of a pageant held annually on St. George's Day, in which the Emperor and Empress, two doctors and two knights are presented by the out-going Mayor; St. George "a horse-back" is presented by the incoming Mayor; whilst the Bailiffs find money for four men on horses to bear the pole-axe, the standard, the Emperor's sword and St. George's sword. St. George's four trumpeters are to be paid for by St. George's guild, whilst the younger warden must find the King and Queen of Dele, two knights and two maidens.

Archdeacon Seymour claims that these entries bear witness to the custom of acting mystery plays in Dublin towards the end of the fifteenth century; but Dr. Chambers is almost certainly right in his different interpretation of the evidence.[4] So far as the entries in the Dublin Chain Book take us, there is nothing to suggest that these annual pageants were anything

[1] Gilbert, *op. cit.* I, pp. 239-241./The "courteours" are the only group whose presentation is not of a religious character. Could this part of the procession have been staged by persons connected with the Court in Dublin?

[2] Walter Harris: *History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin* (Dublin, 1766), pp. 147-8: a posthumous and inaccurate work.

[3] Text in Gilbert, *op. cit.* I, p. 242.

[4] Chambers, *op. cit.* II, p. 365; and Waterhouse, *loc. cit.*, p. xlv.

more than a procession in dumb-show, combining the most popular figures of various mystery plays. This conclusion is confirmed by an entry in a Dublin Assembly Roll for the year 1466, some thirty years before the entry in the Chain Book : [1]

1466. Fourth Friday after 29 September.

Item : Hit is ordeynet and graunt by the seide semble that fro thens forward suche persons as will cum to the citte in the festes of Corpus Christi, Seint George, Seint Patrick, for procession and pylgrymage, and hors for rydyng at Corpus Christi be fre withoute enny wexacion, cumyng goyng and abydyng a day befor and a day after, so that thei bryng no man his horse of the citte (?).

From this entry, which can be paralleled from similar records in English medieval cities, it is plain enough that Dublin drew crowds of sightseers from the neighbourhood on the feasts of St. Patrick, St. George and Corpus Christi, when processions were organised by the guilds through the streets of the city. But I do not think that these records of Dublin's pageants can be quoted as direct evidence for the production of mystery plays in the city. The entries in the Chain Book do not follow the familiar order of any of the traditional cycles of mystery plays, and they mingle religious and secular scenes in a single pageant. Most probably, they describe a procession through the streets of the city, with *tableaux vivants* of the more popular scenes from familiar mystery plays, such as *Adam and Eve*, *Abraham's Sacrifice* or *The Nine Worthies*. None-the-less, it is obvious that such pageants must have owed their popularity precisely to the fact that the citizens were familiar with such mystery plays and morality plays. The Dublin entries may thus be taken as indirect evidence for the production of these plays, at least in the late fifteenth century.

The mingling of religious and secular subjects seems to have been popular in Dublin at this time. In 1528, just a generation after the entry in the Dublin Chain Book, we find an entry that Thomas FitzGerald, "Silken Thomas," the future Earl of Kildare, then a boy of fifteen, was invited to a series of plays in Dublin, which were performed for several

[1] Gilbert, *op. cit.* I, p. 324.

days at Christmas-time in the presence of the Mayor and his Bailiffs.[1] Adam and Eve were presented by the Tailors; Bacchus by the Vintners; Joseph and Mary by the Carpenters; Ceres by the Bakers; Vulcan by the Smiths; Crispin and Crispinianus by the Shoemakers. Arland Ussher was Mayor of Dublin in this year. He was the grandfather of the famous scholar, to whose collection of manuscripts we owe our knowledge of at least two of these ancient English mystery plays. Were these new classical presentations a first taste of Renaissance learning in Ireland?

At the end of this same entry we find a statement worth noting for the light it throws on the evidence we have already considered. The stage for these performances was erected at Hoggin Green outside the city's walls, and on this stage the Priors of the three monastic houses, St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham, Holy Trinity (now Christ Church) and Allhallows (where Trinity College now stands), caused two mystery plays to be acted, one representing the Passion of our Saviour, the other the deaths of the Twelve Apostles. Here, as contrasted with the Mayor's presentations, we have the older medieval tradition, in which the dramatic performances are organised by the clergy, for a religious motive. As we shall see, these performances were often held within the actual walls of the church.

We have now come to the end of the evidence hitherto available as proof that religious dramas were acted in the Anglo-Irish Pale during the late Middle Ages. That evidence is inconclusive, though it suggests that mystery plays and morality plays were a familiar element in the life of the Anglo-Irish settlers, at least during the fifteenth century. New evidence strengthens this conclusion and enables us to carry the story back into the fourteenth century.

Some time ago Mr. W. A. Pantin of Oriel College, Oxford, drew my attention to a roll, now in the muniment room of the Dean and Chapter at Durham, which contains seventeen

[1] Quoted from one of Robert Ware's MSS. by Harris, *loc. cit.*, p. 143. The passage is inaccurate as it stands, for it names Thomas as Earl of Kildare and Lord Lieutenant for that year. Ware seems to have made notes from some of the missing leaves of the Dublin Chain Book, and this entry may have been on one of these.

unpublished constitutions of a Dublin provincial council, which Archbishop Thomas Minot held at Kilkenny in 1366.[1] By the courtesy of the Dean and Chapter, I have been allowed to arrange for the temporary transfer of this roll from Durham to Dublin, where it has been available for more detailed study in the National Library. The full text of these constitutions is exceedingly long; it is in fact the most extensive text of this kind that has come down to us from any of the medieval Irish dioceses. I hope to print this important document elsewhere. For the moment I am only concerned with provisions made in the seventh of these constitutions, which is headed: *Constitucio ne mercata in ecclesiis vel earum acris seu cimiteriis teneantur, nec negociaciones seculares exerceantur.* The decree begins by prohibiting, in general terms, the exercise of all secular business, such as the hearing of law-suits, the holding of fairs or the erection of secular buildings, within the churches or cemeteries of the Dublin province. There follows a more interesting clause: [2]

And, since many bodies of saints and those who will be saved are buried in the dedicated cemeteries, to which all honour and reverence is due, we distinctly order all parish priests of our diocese and province to announce publicly in their churches that no one is to presume to hold dances, wrestling-matches or other disgraceful games in our churches and cemeteries, especially on the vigils and feasts of the saints." [At this point the text is imperfect as it stands, for the Durham roll is no more than a copy made from the official text. Supplying a word that seems to be missing here, we read as follows]: " (They must also forbid) such theatrical games and frivolous spectacles, by which the churches are dishonoured; and the aforesaid priests must warn them, under suspension, and order them in future to abstain from such acts and cease from them, under pain of greater excommunication. Otherwise they are to denounce the names of the offenders to the ordinary of the place, his official or commissary, so that those who contravene this order may be punished canonically in proportion to their faults."

[1] Durham Roll 5822: nothing is known of the accident that brought this important document to Durham.

[2] The essential clause is as follows: " . . . ne quisquam choreas luctas vel alios ludos inhonestos in ecclesiis vel cimiteriis excercere presumant (*sic*) precipue in vigiliis et festis sanctorum cum huiusmodi ludos teatrales et ludibriorum spectacula per quo ecclesie coinquinantur predicti sacerdotes sub pena suspencionis eos moneant et precipiant eisdem quod ab huiusmodi penitus abstineant et desistant sub pena excommunicacionis maioris."

We have here, in the plainest terms, though the full text of the decree has been obscured by an omission, an ecclesiastical prohibition, promulgated throughout the province of Dublin and imposing severe penalties on those who organise dances, wrestling-matches, or theatrical displays in the churches and cemeteries of the province. Similar legislation was common in England and France at this same period. Dr. Chambers quotes a decree of the Council of Avignon (1209) which prohibits all forms of dancing, modest or immodest, within the church; and another decree of the Council of Bayeux (1300) which prohibits dancing on festival days.[1] To come nearer in time and place to our Dublin council, a decree of the chapter of Wells Cathedral, dated 1338, prohibits dancing, games and spectacles within the church, owing to the danger of bloodshed and the damage that is done to the windows by stone-throwing.[2]

It will be noticed that neither our Dublin decree of 1366 nor the Wells decree of 1338 prohibits dancing or theatrical shows in themselves. What is clearly prohibited, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, is the holding of these secular amusements within the church or cemetery. Here, as Dr. Chambers observes, we have proof of the increasing secularisation of these dramatic performances, which had originally been organised, by the clergy themselves, as mystery plays within the church. Many of the more primitive types of mystery plays bear plain evidence, in the structure of their plot and stage-management, of the traditional *mise-en-scène* in the nave and aisles of the church.[3] From the church, as the performances grew more and more complicated, it was an easy step to the churchyard or to the market-place outside the church-door. And so, with less and less regard for its primitive religious character, the medieval mystery-play and miracle-play gave way to the morality-play and thus, gradually, to the secular drama of the modern world.

The Dublin decree of 1366 throws no light on the character

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[1] Chambers, *op. cit.* I, p. 162, note.
[2] Chambers, *loc. cit.*, quoting H. E. Reynolds: *Wells Cathedral*, p. 85.
[3] Chambers, *op. cit.* II, p. 79.

of these performances, which are now banned within the church-doors. We can only conjecture, from the few texts that have survived, that the Anglo-Irish settlers of Dublin and Kilkenny were familiar with the types that are known to have been common in England at this time. It would be rash to assume that these settlers, living far from the main centres of Western European culture, must have known little of what was fashionable in other lands at this time. To take one obvious example: this Dublin provincial council, which was held at Kilkenny in 1366, was probably held within a few days or weeks of the famous Parliament which enacted the Statute of Kilkenny on February 18, 1366.[1] That Parliament had been summoned by the King's son, Lionel Duke of Clarence. Within two years of that date Lionel was setting out from England for the court of Galeazzo Visconti, whose daughter he married before the door of Milan Cathedral on June 5, 1368. Petrarch was at that wedding feast, and Duke Lionel spent the last months of his life in the full enjoyment of Italian hospitality and merry-making.[2] Such a prince was not likely to come here to Ireland without a due retinue of courtiers and professional entertainers. His brother, the Duke of Gaunt, was at Durham shortly before the date of the Kilkenny Parliament; and the accounts of Durham Priory contain entries for the payment of the Lord Duke's two players on the feast of St. Cuthbert, 1364-65.[3] Though we have no contemporary records of this kind from Kilkenny, we may take it for granted that Lionel of Clarence was no less ready for merry-making in Ireland than John of Gaunt on the Northern March.

One last point calls for comment. The decree of the Dublin council makes no mention of any town or place at which these irreverent customs were common. Dublin and Kilkenny are known to have been centres of theatrical

[1] The roll gives only one indication of the Council's date: "Nos Thomas archiepiscopus supradictus una cum suffraganeis nostris in concilio provinciali hoc instanti anno domini M. CCCmo. sexagesimo sexto in ecclesia cathedrali Ossor'." Archbishop Minot and three of his suffragan Bishops were present at the Kilkenny Parliament, and confirmed its statutes.

[2] For these details see *D.N.B.* XXXIII. 337.

[3] Chambers, *op. cit.* II, p. 242.

performances in Tudor days, and it is tempting to suggest that both cities had cherished these customs for at least two centuries before Henry VIII and Elizabeth.[1] As we have seen, no direct evidence can be cited that establishes, beyond all possible question, the existence of such a custom in Dublin before the fifteenth century ; but I think it would be pushing scepticism too far to suggest that Dublin lacked a form of entertainment that was certainly common elsewhere in the Pale by 1366. As for Kilkenny, we have evidence of an earlier date, which becomes more significant in the light of the decree of the Dublin council ; and which makes it probable that we should date these theatrical performances back to the early years of the fourteenth century.

Kilkenny is singularly rich in its medieval records, and one of its most treasured possessions is the Red Book of Ossory, now in the custody of the Protestant Bishop of Ossory. The late Dr. H. J. Lawlor published a very useful English summary or Calendar of the contents of this book, in a paper which he read before the Royal Irish Academy in 1908.[2] By the courtesy of its present custodian, I have been able to study the Red Book, here in Dublin, during the past few months ; and I have been led to modify Dr. Lawlor's conclusions on one or two points. The book, which is substantially the work of one or more scribes of the middle fourteenth century, falls into four main parts, each of which was originally written on a separate gathering of parchment folios.

The first section contains the decrees of two Dublin councils, held by Alexander de Bicknor and his successor, John of St. Paul, in the years 1321-2 and 1352. Richard Ledred, an English Franciscan, was Bishop of Ossory from 1317-1359 or 1360 : he was almost certainly present at both these councils. His own constitutions, published in one or more diocesan synods of Ossory, are given as the concluding part of this first section.

The second section of the Red Book of Ossory contains a

[1] Archdeacon Seymour, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-134.

[2] *Proc. R.I.A.* (1908), pp. 159-208. Lawlor dates the Red Book to the years just after Ledred's death.

series of financial documents, the first of which dates from immediately before Bishop Ledred's arrival in Ireland; the second dates from a year after his arrival; and the third dates from the year 1351.

The third section of the book contains an interesting series of English statutes, most of which were of comparatively recent date when Bishop Ledred came to Ireland in 1317. It is a reasonable guess that texts of these statutes were brought by this English Bishop to Ireland as a guide for his own legislation and administration. At the end of this section is the text of some ordinances made by the King's Council at Dublin and Kilkenny in 1351. The rest of the section contains matter, in different hands, that has been added at a later date.

The last section of the Red Book of Ossory is the most curious, for it contains the text of sixty songs (*Cantilenae*), written in Latin by the Bishop himself, for the benefit of his clergy in Kilkenny. These songs have been entered into this diocesan register by a professional scribe; and there is a note, in this scribe's handwriting, at the foot of folio 70, where these Latin songs first appear: [1]

"Reader, take note that the Bishop of Ossory has made these songs himself, for the vicars and priests of his cathedral church and for his own clerks, to be sung on the great feasts and days of pleasure: so that their throats and mouths, which have been dedicated to God, may not be defiled by shameful theatrical and worldly songs: and, since they are singers, they may provide themselves with suitable airs, as the words may require."

To make this last injunction easier, the Bishop has added to some of his Latin verses a line or two from the "shameful theatrical and worldly songs," which his priests evidently knew by heart. These first lines are either in English or in French; and it must be admitted that they show a gift of simple poetry

[1] "Attende lector quod Episcopus Ossoriensis fecit istas cantilenas pro vicariis Ecclesie (?) cath' sacerdotibus et clericis suis ad cantandum in magnis festis et solaciis ne guttura eorum et ora deo sanctificata polluantur cantilenis teatralibus turpibus et secularibus: ut cum sint cantatores provideant sibi de notis convenientibus secundum quod dictamina requirunt." The word *solacia* in this sense is unusual, but the reading is certain.

very much more attractive than the Bishop's somewhat mechanical art.[1] Possibly, the Bishop's clerks continued to sing some of them when they thought it safe. In any case, they give us a welcome glimpse of life in Kilkenny towards the middle of the fourteenth century.

Or should we give an earlier date ? The Bishop of Ossory who wrote these songs came to Ireland in the summer of 1317. He was at work in his diocese for the next twelve years, but the years 1324-29 were overshadowed by a violent dispute between the Bishop and some of his more influential diocesan subjects, headed by Sir Arnold le Poer. From a contemporary narrative of this dispute, which has been preserved and which is very probably the Bishop's own version of the story, it is certain that Ledred was immensely popular in Kilkenny in the first years of his pontificate.[2] These songs may very well have been composed in those early years, when all seemed well in the diocese of Ossory. In consequence of his quarrel with Sir Arnold le Poer, Bishop Ledred became involved in a dispute with his metropolitan, Archbishop Bicknor of Dublin ; and was finally compelled to appeal for protection to the Holy See. He left Ireland in 1330 and did not return for the next nine years. Even then, he was subject to constant vexations and was sometimes absent from Ireland, either in England or at Avignon. The last ten years of his life were more peaceful, and they were spent at Kilkenny. If my interpretation of the evidence is correct, the Red Book of Ossory was compiled in these last years, when the Bishop was gathering together the surviving records of his stormy episcopate.

No fixed date can be given for the composition of the Bishop's *Cantilenae*, but they can hardly have been written at the end of his life, when he must have been close on eighty years of age. The most probable dates are from 1317-1324,

[1] These songs have been described by Archdeacon Seymour, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–98. Here are some of the lines : *Hey, how the chevaldoures woke all night ;* or : *So do the nightingale sing full merry : Shall I never for thy love longer carry* (care). And in French : *Heu alas pur amour, Qy moy myst en taunt dolour ;* or : *Harrow, ieo su trahy Par fol amour de mal amy.*

[2] T. Wright : *Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler* (Camden Soc., 1843).

in the early days of his pontificate, or from 1340-48, when he had come back from his exile at Avignon and was renewing contact with his diocesan subjects. If we take the earlier date as more probable, it follows that the custom of singing *cantilenae teatrales* in the streets of Kilkenny must be dated back to the early years of the fourteenth century. And there is something characteristic in the Bishop's action, no matter at what date we place the composition of these songs.

Richard Ledred was certainly an English Friar Minor, and there is reason for thinking that he had been a member of the great Franciscan community at Greyfriars, London.[1] He was also of humble birth—a fact that was thrown in his face by Sir Arnold le Poer in the court-house of Kilkenny.[2] A more aristocratic Bishop, such as the Anglo-Irish lords of Ossory had known for the past hundred years, would probably have paid little heed to the songs that his people were singing in the streets. Richard Ledred was of the people himself, and took an interest in their amusements as well as in their sins. Hence these curious *Cantilenae*, which may never have been sung save in the Bishop's presence at Kilkenny. But they are none the less a valuable witness to the customs of a city which can claim, as I have tried to show in this essay, the earliest surviving records of any theatrical performances in Ireland.

AUBREY GWYNN

[1] He lodged at Greyfriars on his way through London to Ireland in August, 1317, and issued a charter from that house: FitzMaurice-Little, *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland* (British Soc. of Franc. Studies, 1920), p. 102.

[2] *Narrative of Proceedings*, p. 14: "ille vilis rusticus trutannus de Anglia." The Bishop may perhaps have been connected with Thomas de Ledred, yeoman of the King's Chamber, mentioned in the Close Rolls and Patent Rolls of 1313-1314.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM *

BY PROFESSOR ROBERT W. DITCHBURN, F.T.C.D.

Introduction

ALTHOUGH, like most of the problems of the modern world, the refugee problem has obscure origins far back in history, I have limited this paper to a survey of the post-war refugee problem. I have done this not only because of considerations of time and space, but also because I believe that the practical refugee problem of to-day is due to the political and economic changes caused by the war and by the failure to adapt the organisation of production and distribution to the rapidly changing situation of the period immediately after the war. I therefore believe that the problem is primarily an economic one. Political nationalism and racialism are, of course, important factors in aggravating the problem; but if the economic state of the world had been healthy in the post-war period, there would have been many fewer refugees and they could have been easily absorbed into other countries. It is partly for this reason that I am going to make another distinction which limits the scope of this paper. Most of us tend to link together the refugee problem and the Jewish problem. I intend to distinguish them as far as possible and to deal with the Jewish problem only so far as it affects the refugee problem. It is true that a very large proportion of the refugees from Germany are partly or wholly of Jewish descent; but when the refugee problem is considered as a whole, the proportion of refugees who are Jews is not so great, and even in Germany it is not difficult to see a main structure of economic trouble behind a facade of "race purity."

The refugee problem is thus closely connected with those migrations of history which have been mainly due to economic causes, such as the migration to America from this country during the last century. It is necessary, however, to distinguish

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the refugee from the ordinary migrant even though the distinction may be a somewhat artificial one. The essential feature which distinguishes a refugee from an ordinary alien or immigrant is that he is on bad terms with the government of the territory in which he used to reside before he became a refugee. He must be against the government—or rather the government must be against him—to such an extent that life in his former territory is impossible or intolerable.

This is the essential quality of a refugee. Other features which are commonly associated with refugees are only incidental and not universal. Thus a refugee is usually without the *de facto* or the *de jure* protection of the government of his former territory, and therefore tends to become stateless. But the Italian government gives passports (at appropriate fees) and all rights of nationality to Italian refugee opponents of Fascism. Formally it invites and commands them to return to Italy—while giving no undertaking concerning what will happen to them if they do return. Also a refugee is usually fleeing from the country in which he was born or of which he was formerly a national; but (as we shall see) there have been important groups of refugees who have fled from countries in which they were residents but not nationals back to their own country. Even the quality of flight is not an essential quality of a refugee. He may have been residing in another country for a long period but with the intention of ultimately returning to his former territory. This intention may be entirely altered by a change of government occurring while he is away. Many thousands of Austrian residents in Great Britain and the U.S.A. were made refugees by the *Anschluss*. Thus the only essential quality of a refugee is his inability to live in his former territory because of the actions of the government of that territory. One minor qualification must be added to this definition because, as it stands, it would include ordinary criminals who are unable to return to a country in which they have committed a crime. In theory the refugee is clearly distinguished from these, because his crime (if any is alleged) is political and not civil. I say "in theory" because, as we know well in this country, it is not

always easy to obtain a clear consensus of opinion on the difference between political and civil crime. However, the number of people affected by this doubt is quite small, and I therefore do not propose to discuss it further.

After concluding this introduction I propose to continue with a general survey of the extent and causes of the problem in post-war Europe. Next I shall give some account of the measures which have been adopted and of the degree of success with which they have been attended. The paper is then concluded with a discussion of the application of these measures to the present situation and of the present outlook.

Extent of the Problem

We now turn to the question of the extent and causes of the refugee problem in Europe. It is very difficult to put the relevant information in statistical or tabular form, because some of the movements are so complicated. However, I have done my best, and I think the following table will be helpful if I supplement it by a few comments.

The table shows the movements of the refugees in the post-war period and, in a few cases, back to 1912. The refugees are classified by their original nationality, and the table shows the number in each class and the countries from which they fled and to which they have gone. The chief defect of the table is that it is not able to take account of change of frontiers. Thus many of the Armenian refugees who are recorded as fleeing from Turkey to Russia really returned to their original homes owing to part of the Republic of Erivan having been included in the U.S.S.R. The table also gives no indication of the occupations of the refugees. Thus the Greek and Armenian refugees were mainly peasants and manual workers. The Russian refugees were mainly bourgeois. The German refugees contained a high proportion of professional and commercial experts and an astonishingly high proportion of men of science and learning. Reliable investigations have listed about 1,400 professors, teachers and research workers who have been displaced from German universities and institutions of university rank. In Austria—a country only twice as

big as Ireland—the number is between four and five hundred. This list does not include those who have died or committed

Date	Original Nationality	Cause of Flight	Number	From	To
1913	Greek ...	Balkan War ...	80,000	Serbia, Bulgaria	Greece
1914	,, ...	,, ...	220,000	Turkey ...	,,
1919/20	,, ...	Russian Revolution.	60,000	Russia ...	,,
1922/24	,, ...	Defeat in Anatolia.	1,000,000	Turkey ...	,,
Total, 1919/24	,, ...	Various ...	1,300,000	Various ...	,,
1912	Bulgarian-Turk ...	Balkan War ...	250,000	Turkey ...	Bulgaria
1918	,, ...	Great War ...	64,000	Greece ...	,,
1919	,, ...	Convention of Neuilly	55,000	,, ...	,,
Total			370,000		
1913/14	Turkish ...	Religion. Defeat in War	160,000	Greece and Bulgaria	Turkey
1921/29	,, ...	Convention of Neuilly	578,000	Greece, &c.	,,
1929/35	,, ...	Treaties ...	100,000	Roumania, &c.	,,
Total into Turkey			850,000		
1919/36	Turkish ...	Political ...	1,000	Turkey ...	Various
1919/36	Turkish Kurds ...	,, ...	20,000	,, ...	Syria
1915/18	Turkish Armenians	Religious Persecution	250,000	,, ...	Russia
1919/23	,, ...	,, ...	320,000	,, ...	Syria, Iraq Palestine, &c.
1919/22	,, ...	,, ...	200,000	,, ...	Russia
Total out of Turkey			1,000,000		
1918	Assyrians ...	Great War ...	30,000	Turkey ...	Iraq
1917/24	Russian ...	Revolution ...	700,000	Russia ...	Poland, Germany, France, U.S.A.
1922/38	Italian ...	Revolution ...	Upwards of 10,000	Italy ...	France, &c., U.S.A., &c.
	German "Aryan"	Revolution ...	15,000	Germany...	Various
1933/36	German "Non-Aryan"	,, ...	93,000	,, ...	,,
1936/38	Non-Aryan ...	,, ...	44,000		
Total German			150,000		

suicide. The numbers would have to be multiplied by a large factor to include all those refugees—doctors, schoolmasters and professional men—whose total work was world famous, though they themselves were individually unknown. When the Spanish King heard of the execution of Sir Thomas More, he is recorded to have said: "I would rather have lost my greatest city than such a councillor." Modern Germany may yet learn the application of this saying.

I now propose to give a general account of the machinery which has been used by the League of Nations, by governments and by private organisations to deal with the refugee problem at various times. The most remarkable thing is the enormously important—indeed the predominant—part played by the private organisations. Looking at the vast number of people involved, one might be justified in supposing that private effort could do little to deal with so vast a problem. One would suppose that governments, naturally anxious to heal an important disease in the international body politic, would supply the finance and the main organisation, that the League of Nations would co-ordinate the different efforts, and that the private organisations would play a very subsidiary part in bringing extra help to small groups of refugees in special need. Reality is very different. Almost all the main movements of assistance for the refugees have been initiated by private organisations. Most of the money which has been given (as opposed to that which has been lent) has come from private charity. The League of Nations undertook the work of co-ordination with a great deal of reluctance, and there has always been within the League a party anxious that the League should have as little as possible to do with the refugee problem. However, this party has never been able to capture the Council or Assembly, and through Dr. Nansen and his successors the League has played an important and indispensable part in the successful work which has been done in relation to the refugees. The governments as a rule have been willing to give a sort of blessing to the League and the private organisations, and they have been willing also to co-operate in removing legal difficulties, provided no serious expenditure of money

was involved. Under pressure from the League they have, from time to time granted international loans for the re-settlement of refugees, and this has been their most important service. We must not criticise the governments too severely for this attitude. In the present state of international ethics each government feels that it must put the ultimate interests of its own people and of its own state before the general good of mankind as a whole. On this principle the refugees can only be helped when this can be done without loss to the state concerned. At the same time one must feel that, if the governments had been more far-sighted, they would sometimes have found that generosity would in the long run have been the best policy for their own people.

The Work of the League

I will now briefly describe the work of the League of Nations. This work has been governed by two main principles. In the first place, while accepting responsibility for the political and legal protection of refugees and for co-ordinating the work of governments and private organisations, it has repeatedly affirmed that League Funds cannot be used for relief work. In certain emergencies it has occasionally made exceptions to this rule; but the exceptions are so rare that they prove rather than break the rule, and in all not much more than £100,000 has been given by the League for the purpose of relief. In the second place, the League has always regarded its work for refugees as having a temporary character. The League's work for refugees began in 1921, when the Council, on June 27th, was persuaded by the private organizations (led by the International Red Cross) to agree to the appointment of a High Commissioner for Russian refugees. Dr. Nansen was appointed on September 1, 1921. The personal qualities which Dr. Nansen brought to his task are too well known to need description.

Nansen had three main objectives :—(1) to develop plans for repatriation, (2) to improve the legal position of stateless refugees who had no passports, (3) to relieve by dispersal the congestion of refugees at places like Constantinople. Dr.

Nansen personally hoped that a large part of the problem could be solved by repatriation similar to that which he had organised for prisoners of war ; but although he was successful in repatriating about 6,000 Cossacks, it soon became apparent that repatriation could solve only a small part of the Russian refugee problem. In the dispersal of refugees from Constantinople he was more successful, and in 1922 he succeeded in taking 20,000 refugees from that city and distributing them over 45 countries at a cost of only £50,000 or £2 10s. 0d. per head. Of this sum £11,000 was obtained from governments and the balance from private charity. We may safely say that a very ugly problem was solved at a relatively trivial cost.

In September 1922, the League authorised the High Commissioner to use his organisation to assist the Greek refugees. In September 1923 the Armenian refugees were also included in his charge. Dr. Nansen was able to arrange the evacuation of 150,000 refugees from Asia Minor to Greece and of 10,000 Turks to Asia Minor, and he assisted in stamping out epidemics due to the arrival of refugees in both Constantinople and Greece.

In 1922 Dr. Nansen brought in the famous "Nansen passport," which will be considered in more detail when we come to discuss the legal aspects of the refugee problem. In 1924 the League decided to transfer the technical organisation of refugee work to the I.L.O. (International Labour Office), Dr. Nansen, as High Commissioner, retaining control of the legal and political aspects of the work. The change was a good one in that the I.L.O. possessed the will and the power to direct efforts for large scale settlement of refugees in underpopulated countries such as Paraguay, and for the mass settlement of Armenians in Russian Erivan. Dr. Nansen was continually trying to persuade the governments that the presence of unorganised groups of refugees in their countries was so costly that it would pay them to put up the capital for the re-settlement of the refugees outside Europe. He pointed out that eight countries alone were spending between them over a million a year on refugees, and yet he had the greatest difficulty in getting a capital sum of £200,000 for settlement schemes.

As a partial measure the Nansen stamp was invented. This was essentially a tax of about 4s. a head a year collected from all refugees who were not absolutely destitute. The proceeds, which were sent to Geneva to be used for refugees, amounted to about £50,000 over a period of four years. The experiment did not produce an enormous amount of money, but it is interesting because it shows the possibility of international taxation for a good common to a number of nations.

In 1927-28 it became obvious that, although Nansen was meeting with considerable success, a rapid solution of the problem was not possible. In 1928 the Governing Body of the I.L.O., which had always been reluctant to have anything to do with the refugee problem, succeeded in tossing the ball back to the Council. This action was probably due to the fact that the conservative Governing Body feared that the Director of the I.L.O. (M. Albert Thomas) wished to set up a permanent organisation for the control and assistance of all kinds of immigration. In 1929 the Council decided that Nansen, as High Commissioner, should continue his work in direct association with the Secretariat of the League instead of with the I.L.O. This arrangement was intended to work for one year only, at the end of which the matter would be reconsidered. During this year (in May 1930) Nansen died.

In August 1930, the League decided to continue to be directly responsible for the legal and political side of refugee work and to entrust the humanitarian side of the work to an autonomous office called "The Nansen International Office for Refugees." The position of High Commissioner disappeared, though (as we shall see) it was revived later.

One step taken by the Governing Body of the "Nansen Office" had very serious consequences. Nansen himself had resisted suggestions that refugees (and especially Russians) should be given posts in the service, though some were employed by him indirectly. In the Nansen Office some Russian refugees were given positions on the Governing Body. This made the Soviet Government feel that the Nansen Office was a centre of White Russian intrigue against the security of their state. They, therefore, made it an objective of policy to prevent

the Nansen Office continuing beyond the nine years originally fixed by the League. In this they were successful, and the Nansen Office was closed at the end of last year (*i.e.*, one year before the end of the nine-year period).

The attempt to separate the legal and political work of the League from the humanitarian work and to assign the latter only to the Nansen Office was found impracticable. In practice the Nansen Office had to do it all, and the formal separation was maintained only by a sort of legal fiction that the Nansen Office was a servant of the Secretariat when it dealt with legal matters and an independent organisation when it did humanitarian work.

In May 1935, the Council entrusted the protection of the Saar Refugees to the Nansen Office and made a special grant for a settlement scheme in Paraguay. With some illogicality the League refused to assign the care of refugees from Germany to the Nansen Office and appointed instead a special High Commissioner for German refugees. In order not to offend Germany it was decided that the High Commissioner should report not to the League but to an autonomous commission, of which Lord Cecil became chairman. Mr. James G. MacDonald, the High Commissioner, found that the absence of League authority behind him rendered his task an impossible one. He also believed, especially after the Nuremberg legislation, that the problem could only be attacked at its source—namely, the conditions in Germany causing refugees. He, therefore, resigned on December 31st, 1935.

The League Council appointed a new High Commissioner, Sir Neill Malcolm. His position was made much stronger in that he was recognised as a League official receiving grants directly from the League. He reported to the League and had the assistance of the League Secretariat in arranging inter-governmental conferences. His tasks were to improve the legal status of German refugees and to co-ordinate the work of the private organisations. As a League official he could not intervene in Germany.

Thus at the beginning of 1938 the League had two organs for dealing with Refugees—the High Commissioner for German

Refugees and the Nansen Office for all others. In September 1938, Sir Herbert Emerson was appointed League High Commissioner for Refugees to direct all the Refugee work of the League.

In the meantime, however, the centre of interest had shifted from the League to the Conference on Refugees which met at Evian in July last at the invitation of the U.S. government. This conference discussed the situation. All countries expressed goodwill—usually coupled with a pious hope that other nations would take the main part in doing the practical things, which they themselves deeply regretted . . . etc. Germany not being formally represented, there was unanimous agreement that Germany ought to release some of the property of the refugees as a contribution towards their settlement. The conference appointed a continuing organisation under Mr. Rublee, whose most important task was to persuade the German government to agree to this suggestion. Long negotiations with Dr. Schacht and his successor produced an offer which has not been published. In the meantime, the negotiations are in a state of suspended animation and are likely to remain so. Sir Herbert Emerson has recently succeeded Mr. Rublee. The Evian commission is thus brought into close relation with the League.

Legal Aspects

We have already said that lack of nationality is not an essential quality of a refugee, since there are stateless persons who are not refugees and refugees who are not stateless. Still it is undoubtedly true that a very large number of refugees do not enjoy the *de facto* and *de jure* protection of any government. It is important to distinguish between the *de jure* and the *de facto* stateless refugee. The former is comparatively rare. The only systematic and general denaturalisation of refugees has been made by the Russian Government which, in various decrees issued between 1921 and 1931, deprived of nationality all those Russians living abroad who failed to apply for and to obtain recognition of their citizenship and permission to reside abroad. These decrees made nearly all the Russian Refugees *de facto* and *de jure* stateless. The

German Government in 1933 issued decrees whose practical effect was to deprive of nationality Jews from Poland and Russia who had become naturalised Germans. These people did not thereby regain their original citizenship and in time many of them became stateless refugees.

The position of the German-born Jews is different. No decree deprives them of citizenship, but inside Germany they do not enjoy the full rights of citizens. If they are outside Germany their passports are not cancelled, but they are not always renewed when they expire. Moreover, Germany refuses to accept them as deportees. There is, of course, no question of Germany protecting them if any foreign power should treat them harshly. Thus, for both internal and external purposes, they have lost every shred of *de facto* nationality and they are declared not to belong to the German nation—yet the last decree of *de jure* denaturalisation coupled with complete refusal or cancellation of passports has not been issued.

The position in International Law of a stateless person is extremely peculiar. International Law does not contemplate the existence of " stateless " people. Such people can have no " rights " of asylum or any other rights in relation to individual nations or to the Comity of Nations as a whole. The simplest solution of their difficulties as stateless persons is that they should acquire another nationality. This was easy for certain classes of refugees—*e.g.*, the Greek Refugees from Turkey were made Greek citizens from the date of their arrival on Greek soil, and similar mass naturalisation decrees have been issued in favour of Turkish and Armenian refugees.

In the past two factors have operated against the mass naturalisation of refugees. In the first place, most countries regard their citizenship as an important privilege to be granted rarely and only after careful consideration of each individual case. In the second place, many of the refugees, hoping for a change of government which would enable them to return to their own country, have therefore been unwilling to apply for the citizenship of any other country. Technical reasons also prevent rapid, as opposed to mass, naturalisation ; most countries require a residential qualification of from two to

ten years and a substantial fee before they grant naturalisation. Ireland requires five years' residence and a fee of about £11.

The position in relation to marriage and children is peculiar and varies greatly from one country to another. In Great Britain, as in most countries, a stateless woman marrying a citizen thereby acquires nationality. In Ireland, however, she remains stateless. In both Great Britain and Ireland a child born of stateless parents in the national territory acquires nationality. In Czechoslovakia and other countries nationality is determined by " blood " and not at all by birthplace, so that a child born of stateless parents remains stateless. In some countries refugee men infect the women they marry with their own statelessness ; but in Great Britain and Ireland the woman can, if she wishes, retain her nationality. There is also the problem of whether in international law a country has a right to cancel passports or to denaturalise natives, but this is an academic question since some states have certainly been able to do it in practice.

To follow all the legal ramifications of the problem of the stateless refugee would require a paper in itself. Enough has been said to show its complicated nature. Let us now consider the practical consequences.

The most important disadvantages of being stateless are that most countries restrict or prohibit the employment of stateless refugees and also that it is very difficult for the stateless refugees to travel. A government which admits to its national territory an ordinary alien knows that, if he should prove an undesirable alien, it can order him to leave the country, or in the last resort can deport him to the country to which he belongs. If, however, the alien is stateless and has no passport, he cannot as a rule travel to another country ; and if he should become destitute or be guilty of a serious crime, he cannot be deported, because no country is willing to receive him. It is obvious that any government must be extremely careful in permitting the immigration of any person who is, or is likely to become, stateless.

It should be pointed out that it is possible for the disabilities of stateless persons to be partially removed without

their being given full naturalisation. Thus the giving of work-permits is common and, as we shall see, the "Nansen Passport" has done much to remove the difficulty of travel. On the other hand, when technical naturalisation is given it is often accompanied by restrictions—*e.g.*, naturalised citizens in France may not work in the universities, the state service or the higher ranks of the legal profession for ten years after naturalisation. Most countries reserve the right to cancel naturalisation certificates.

The legal position of refugees has been greatly improved by the existence of a series of international agreements, which began with the Nansen passport system and which were completed and codified by the conventions of 1933 for refugees under the Nansen office and of 1938 for German refugees. Though there are important differences, the conventions are similar in general objective. Considerations of time, however, forbid me to give more than an outline of their provisions.

The conventions provide for the issue of travelling papers to stateless refugees and for the acceptance of these papers as passports by the parties to the convention. The travelling paper is, in effect, a promise that the government which issues it will permit the refugee who holds it to return to its territory within a specified period. This provision thereby enables another government to accept the refugee "on approval," so to speak. If he should prove undesirable, he can, in the last resort, be deported to the country which issued the travel paper. This provision has been extremely valuable in enabling a refugee to move from one country to another until he is able to find a country where he is permitted permanent residence and employment. The usefulness of the document is, however, limited by the fact that only five countries have signed both conventions. Of these the most important are France and Britain. Ireland is not one of the signatories.

Methods of Relief

The methods of solving the refugee problem which have been prepared and applied can be conveniently classified under the three heads of repatriation, assimilation and coloniza-

tion. Repatriation, or the return of the refugee to the country from which he has come has often been the first hope both of the refugees and of their friends. Except in special circumstances, it has generally proved an illusory hope. Thus the Russian refugees in Czechoslovakia for many years cherished the belief that the Soviet regime would be short-lived and that it would soon be their task to reconstruct the economic system of Russia. They, therefore, sought to train themselves for this object and set up the appropriate schools and colleges. Perhaps this was not altogether harmful because, when the historical process had made ashes of their hopes, the training which the younger refugees had received was still valuable to them in other countries. This type of vain hope has, however, often been harmful to the refugees, especially in France and the United States, in preventing them from settling down and giving their undivided loyalty to the country in which they have found refuge. Apart from the psychological strain which the ever-receding but never quite vanished hope of repatriation puts on the refugee, it works against him in making other nations unwilling to trust him with responsible work or to give him the privilege of naturalisation. The great advantage of the solution by repatriation is that, if one refugee problem is solved that way, other countries are strongly discouraged from creating refugees. But, though the possibility of countries being persuaded (perhaps by economic pressure) to take back their refugees must not be neglected, we must admit that, with the possible exception of the Spanish refugees, we cannot expect repatriation to play any important part in the solution of the refugee problems of to-day.

The second solution, assimilation of refugees in the countries where they are now resident, is definitely a practicable and desirable solution for certain, though not for all, refugees. From what has already been said it is obvious that assimilation is not the same thing as naturalisation. Complete assimilation includes naturalisation, but it includes also a cultural, linguistic and economic assimilation of the refugee into the national life of the country in which he has found refuge. This does not mean of necessity that his own distinctive culture has

been lost, but rather that it has been absorbed into the culture of the country to which he has come, the latter being enriched by the stimulus from outside. Assimilation cannot be hurried. Its completion is a matter for the second and third generations, though important results can be obtained in very much shorter time provided both the government and the refugee adopt a mutually helpful attitude. On the whole, the greatest success in this direction has been in France, where a people of a very old and stable culture have been able to absorb a considerable influx without feeling their own national life endangered. This process has been assisted by a long liberal tradition and by unusually favourable economic conditions.

We come to the third method, colonisation. For a few refugees this is their first hope, but for most it is a last resort. Some of the refugees are young and active and welcome the opportunity of leaving Europe and starting life again under new conditions. Even though they have to take up manual work to which they are unused and to accept a low standard of living, they are glad to go to a country which offers them equal citizenship and the possibility of supporting themselves and their families by their own work. It appears to be natural and desirable that, both in relation to assimilation and colonisation, organised effort should as far as possible seek to follow rather than to oppose or to correct natural trends. It is obviously undesirable to attempt assimilation of refugees in countries where they have no cultural affinities and where economic conditions are unfavourable. Similarly, certain countries are at present taking considerable numbers of immigrants apart altogether from refugees, and it should be an obvious objective of policy to direct refugee emigration towards these countries rather than towards countries where emigration of their own population is now the rule. Also the more refugees can help themselves or receive help from their own friends the better. Large schemes of land settlement have usually been unsuccessful unless there has been considerable amounts of capital available. Thus Jewish schemes which have succeeded have had capital equivalent to between five hundred and a thousand pounds per family. Obviously, when a refugee can go to a

friend or employer in some non-European country, much less money is required from the relief organisation, and also there is more chance of permanent establishment than if he is going to a subsidised colony in some region which is not really ripe for colonisation. But if the refugee can go to a friend or employer in this way, he could also go if he were not a refugee, and thus he is following a natural trend. The function of the refugee organisation on this view should be to train refugees for occupations suitable for countries where immigrants are wanted. When trained, the refugees should be emigrated by infiltration rather than *en masse*.

I have emphasised this point of view, because I believe it to be most important and because it is the principle on which the Irish refugee organisations are mainly operating. At the same time it can be over-emphasised and is over-emphasised by government spokesmen who want a reason for throwing the whole burden of the problem on the shoulders of private refugee organisations. If this view were taken literally, we should have to assume that no refugees could go to the United States because during the last six years nearly 80,000 people have left that country in excess of those who have entered it. Yet on general grounds one may say that the United States is one of the most thinly populated and at the same time the richest country in the world. There is no doubt that, by a reasonably organised use of her natural resources, the United States could absorb, not only the existing refugees but also many of the four or five million potential refugees—and not only without harm but with benefit to her own social and economic structure. To a less extent the same considerations apply to many parts of the British Empire.

Thus I think that, while infiltration along existing lines of emigration should be the policy of the private organisations, governments could and should take definite action to create and develop colonisation on a large scale not only for refugees but also for considerable numbers of their own youthful unemployed.

The Present Situation

I now want to give a brief outline of the existing refugee problem. The refugees of to-day fall into three main groups.

First there are the Russian and Armenian refugees, of whom about 200,000 are still stateless and in economically bad situations. Most of these are in Europe and the Near East, and for them there seems to be good reason to hope that, by assimilation into the life of the countries where they are now resident, they will gradually cease to be refugees. There is, however, among them one large group which still constitute a serious international problem, the Russians in Manchukuo, who number about 50,000. They are a considerable cause of tension between Japan and Russia, because they are continually hatching plots against the Soviet and are the cause of raids and counter-raids across the border. On the other hand the Japanese are convinced, not without cause, that they include a number of spies and *agents-provocateurs*. They are so different, both culturally and racially, from the population among which they live that assimilation is very difficult, and both on humanitarian grounds and in the interests of international peace it is desirable that strong efforts should be made to colonise them in other countries. The same considerations apply to the 50,000 Russians in China and Sinkiang, though their problem is less serious from the international point of view.

The second main group of refugees is the German and Austrian refugees. A fair proportion of the earlier German refugees have been accepted as permanent residents in European countries, and no doubt in the course of time they will be completely assimilated. There must be about 100,000 who have left Germany and Austria and who are still without permanent settlement. Most European countries are now willing to allow refugees to come in for temporary refuge while they are making arrangements for passage to other countries. Each refugee so admitted constitutes a risk, because he may not be able to go away again and he may become stateless and destitute. It is the legitimate function of the private organisations to assist the government by selecting refugees who can be emigrated, by guaranteeing that they will not become a public charge, by caring for them while they are in the country, and by arranging for their emigration.

All these functions are fulfilled by the Irish Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees in Ireland and by similar bodies in Great Britain, France and other European countries.

It would greatly assist the work of refugee organisations, if governments willing to accept refugees as permanent settlers would be more definite in promising to take certain numbers, in allotting visas in advance, and in indicating what kind of refugee they are prepared to take. The United States will probably accept some 50,000 refugees during the next two years, if the quotas are maintained, but the procedure of getting visas is very slow. If the United States would increase the staff which deals with applications and if it would reduce the requirements in relation to the persons who are to give the affidavits, the result would be a considerable benefit to the refugees at a small cost to the United States. It is to be hoped that the League and the Evian Conference will succeed in smoothing out difficulties of this type.

The third and last group of the existing refugees is the Spanish refugees, who number about a quarter of a million. We may still hope for a settlement which will enable most of them to return to Spain. But past experience suggests that it will be well not to rely on that hope too much. If they cannot be repatriated, it seems likely that a good many of them will be assimilated in southern France, where there are considerable areas of country not too different from Spain and rather thinly populated with people of similar culture to that of the refugees. Those who cannot remain in France will probably be able to emigrate to South American countries.

Thus we may say generally that, in the absence of some outside international complication such as exists in Manchukuo, the problem of settling the existing refugee problem is not insoluble. Given time, intelligence and goodwill, there is no reason why nearly all the refugees should not be integrated into the life of some country. Dr. Nansen said that when a thing was difficult it took time, when it was said to be impossible it took longer; that was all. This is essentially true of the existing refugee problem. Given time, it can be solved.

R. W. Ditchburn

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF ALBANIA *

BY PROFESSOR MARY RYAN, M.A.

UNTIL Albania, in Holy Week 1939, surged suddenly into the forefront of European politics, it was for most people little more than a name, a place to whose existence we gave a notional rather than a real assent. The impressions gathered in a fortnight's visit, about a month before the Italian invasion, are not of course a basis for opinions; but they do serve to make alive, even to make understandable, a few facts of geography and history, of economics and politics.

One morning late in February the Albanian coast rose before us from the, for the nonce, smooth waters of the Adriatic. We saw a wide bay with its foreshore stretching north and south; behind it rose grey mountains, "stern Albania's hills," jagged peak behind peak like petrified waves of some huge sea. At the northern end of the bay the land ran out into a smiling promontory, up which clambered a pretty town with a modern (Italian made) pier-enclosed harbour—Durazzo.

Hardly anything that we saw in quiet Durazzo could prepare us for the Italian *coup* on Good Friday. A charming old Turkish house looked out to sea from its point of vantage on the remains of the Roman Wall. Its tiny *patio*, with palms and well-heads, gave silence and shade; its long verandah on the sea side gave silence and sun. A mixed household of Albanian Moslem, Greek, and Christian pulled along happily enough. Just up the hill were a little Orthodox church framed in cypresses, a ruined Venetian tower, and King Zog's villa with a glorious view. Nearby were silent

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*Terenzio Tocci: *Il Re degli Albanesi.* Milan: Mondadori. 1938.
J. Swire: *King Zog's Albania.* London: Hale. 1937.
John Gunther: *Inside Europe.* London: Hamilton. 1936.
Nexhmie Zaimi: *Daughter of the Eagle.* New York: Ives Washburn. 1937.
Ronald Matthews: *Sons of the Eagle.* London: Methuen. 1937.
Bernard Newman: *Albanian Back Door.* London: Jenkins. 1936.
J. Swire: *Albania, the Rise of a Kingdom.* London: Williams & Norgate. 1929.
J. & C. Gordon: *Two Vagabonds in Albania.* London: Lane. 1927.
"How Albania Succumbed," *The Times*, April 21, 1939.
(My quotations from Swire are from *King Zog's Albania.*)

cobbled streets, an old mosque with its pretty sunny courtyard invitingly open, its minaret, and its muezzin who five times a day wailed out, to the different points of the horizon, his call to prayer. The voice sounded harsh, but no doubt carried: afterwards we read of the "Albanian telephone"—to wit, men's voices that shout messages to extraordinary distances in the hills. A few steps brought us to the Boulevard Zog, opened up on the site of demolished buildings through the middle of the town. It has rather ordinary shops, hotels, agencies. It leads to the new Town Hall and the new Mosque—Italian built. Beyond the new square is the centre of local life, the open market-place from which old and busy oriental-looking streets radiate. One street goes to the gipsy quarter; for there are many non-nomadic gipsies—they supply domestic servants. All this corner delights the eye. The men, except a few in commonplace coats and trousers, wear and look very fine in their traditional dress of endless variety: here mostly white fezzes or skull-caps, white waistcoats square-necked and braided, coloured sashes, baggy trousers, and "Skanderbeg jackets." These are short black homespun coatees, with thick epaulettes, edges, and long fringes of black wool; worn still, they say, in mourning for Skanderbeg, who died in 1467 and of whom something will be said later. The women wear bell-shaped skirts or voluminous pantaloons, very bright aprons and kerchiefs; others, especially Moslems, are clad in sober black. Donkeys laden with wood for sale, fruit and vegetables in piles, cafés with seats outside, an artist selling marvellous paintings on glass of holy men and heroes; cookshops, sweet shops, silver-workers' and wood-carvers' shops, mysterious looking bakeries alternate with ordinary grocery, provision, hardware stores. A fleet of rather ramshackle buses and lorries has its terminus here, for motor transport now competes with donkeys, bullocks, buffaloes. The only place in Durazzo where we visitors saw an obvious sign of Italian push was in the tiny Catholic "Cathedral," where two Fascist groups made themselves very prominent at the *Te Deum* for the election of Pius XII.

Tirana is much more modern and, on the face of it, Italian

influence is more conspicuous. The streets of the old town have a quiet charm or, on the other hand, near the bazaar, are full of life and movement. There are many mosques and minarets. The market has the usual picturesqueness. But new districts have sprung up, town-planned (with Italian advice), and are rapidly extending. There is a new Parliament House, a new Town Hall, new Ministries, fine villas, modern Legations, a large aerodrome (Italian), a college, a fine looking Italian elementary school, a very modern Independence (!) monument, a great and rather moving mausoleum to the King's mother, a splendid new but unfinished royal palace with gardens laid out. Boulevards are outlined. Two new Catholic churches are being built, and the Archbishop explained that the Catholic congregations have increased considerably in the last twenty years. We did not think of asking whether the increase was due to Albanians or to Italians.

Albania, small as it is, is a very diversified country, and generalisations are correspondingly dangerous. This is due partly to its physical features. As to dialect and customs it falls roughly into north (Gheg) and south (Tosk). The southern country, we read, is more " advanced," has features in common with the neighbouring Greece. We did not penetrate into the wild roadless northern mountains, which can only be explored on pony or donkey or on foot and with the aid of guides and escort. Travellers tell of hardy mountain tribes and clans whose customs go back for five centuries. They are mostly Moslem, but some Christian (in all Albania 20 per cent. are Orthodox and 10 per cent. Catholic). Their lives are poor and hard—in " silent forests and pastures from which primitive men wrest bare existence " (Swire, p. 121). They have strong comfortless stone houses or beehive-like huts. They retain their national dress, their ruggedly independent character, and their tribal customs. Engaged even in 1936 in frequent border frays they retained as many fire-arms as they could in spite of government prohibitions ; they paid no taxes ; they still largely observed the unwritten laws attributed to Lek Dukagjin (a contemporary of Skanderbeg), including the blood-feud and rigid marriage-customs—both of which the

government was trying to stamp out. We saw mountaineers carrying guns. In answer to what must have sounded a very foolish question, our Albanian Catholic chauffeur, himself a mountaineer but the gentlest of little men, said : " You might meet another man with a gun and he might fire, and then you would want to fire ! " But all travellers speak of their law-abidingness in respect of their own not entirely barbaric law ; of their unfailing courteousness and hospitality, of their sense of honour. " Their wrath how deadly, but their friendship sure," wrote Byron, truly. Strangers, women, and all to whom they have sworn *besa*, the oath of peace, are absolutely safe even from the blood-feud. The Albanian race seems to be almost pure in the mountains, with some admixture of Serb in the central part and of Vlach, Turk, and Greek in the lowlands and south.

The nearest we got to those wild parts was Kruja, a mountain town famous as the birthplace and stronghold of Skanderbeg. We travelled up a good road—made by the Austrians during the War—and we saw a remnant of one of their " Decauville " railways. Up and up we zig-zagged between high banks and ravines, ribs of red ironstone showing here and there in the verdure, until we got lovely distant views of the sea. The town suddenly rises in front on a rock promontory, of which its semi-circular bazaar forms a sort of rampart edge ; higher up is the ruined fortress, behind which the mountain rises 2,000 feet sheer. Scattered among grey-green olives and tall cypresses, farmsteads dot the hillside, like chalets : red roofs, wide eaves, latticed windows. To Kruja the mountain people come down to market. The vendors squat on the ground in a sloping field amongst their simple wares, many of the women industriously spinning. Maize meal, onions, fruit, fowl, mats for shelter and bedding, embroideries, bunches of gay socks (which are a characteristic part of the men's dress), gayer scarves and aprons, pottery, copper and white metal utensils are their staples. It was a somewhat exciting business to buy from them, for they crowd round with the simplicity and curiosity of children—all talking together. A word in their language elicited endless

smiles and handshakes, and two little girls were abnormally quick at picking up words of ours.

South of Durazzo, we spent a day going to Berat, an ancient, rich, and formerly very important fortified town. The fortress, in ruins, is on the crest of a bare and steep hill commanding three valleys. The old town, a Christian settlement, clings about it, a hundred houses glaring white in the sun and disposed in queer little alleys. The lower town climbs round the base of the hill and has some beautiful houses, many minarets, a wide square, a network of old streets, a very quaint Orthodox church, for Berat is the seat of a Metropolitan. There is a well-to-do suburb across the river on the opposite hill. Through this part of the country the Italians—following the old Roman routes—have made two fine roads in recent years, spanning the rivers with bridges. Crossing a wide and rather lonely plain, we passed through Kavaja, where there is an American school of agriculture and a girls' school now closed down—various American and English efforts to help the poorer Albanians had either been discontinued or seemed likely to be so soon. For all its wild charm, Albania makes a sad impression of unfulfilled beginnings, to say nothing of the wrecks and ruins of bygone civilisations. But nature and the short memory of man have thrown their mantle of oblivion over these. At Lushnja the government has an agricultural school. Agrarian reform is one of the great needs of the country, for while only a small part of its surface is arable, a much smaller proportion is profitably cultivated. "The government's agricultural reforms look well on paper but application is slow, for reforms in the East are a slow business and the spirit of many beys [the landed aristocracy] is of the East," writes Mr. Swire (p. 143).

The things that, as passing travellers, we saw were primitive indeed but very picturesque: crowded market places, donkeys with incredible burdens—one of them carried a man, his bundles, his little boy and his plough; bullock-carts and carts drawn by ugly dogged-looking buffaloes; some women veiled, though it was now against the law. There was little tillage in that part, but many flocks of sheep and goats—the sheep

on one side and the goats on the other!—tended by shepherds and goatherds in sheepskins or, more commonly, in big dark-coloured hooded capes with flowing sleeves. One felt a certain thrill at seeing two such shepherds suddenly emerge from a lane, one leading his sheep, the other carrying a lamb. There were sheep-folds too, just a circular enclosure of wattles with one space for a door. We lunched that day on an olive-clothed hillside, sitting on a dry knobble of rough grass. The ground sloped away below us through scattered tombstones (Moslem cemeteries are not usually enclosed), amongst which a couple of shepherd boys were scrambling. Below, in the silence, a sort of caravan passed: the slow gait of the donkeys gave to the whole scene a most un-modern and un-Western peace. In the distance there was a pink flush on the snow-capped Tomori, behind which Childe Harold saw the sun go down.

After all that it was a rude shock, in Italy on Good Friday, to find the newspapers blazoning forth the invasion of Albania. Invasion? No, rather a march of Italians into a country where the people welcomed them and from which the wretched Zog had fled. One revolted at the idea: and most of all because of the day chosen and because of the plight of the young queen. By degrees the news became truer and more precise: to be supplemented later by the French and English press. The bombardment of Durazzo was admitted. It was suggested, untruly, that Italian lives and property had been in danger in Albania. But it was honestly, almost cynically, stated that there were plenty of precedents in history for such violent proceedings—which Italian interests, political and economic, made inevitable. Albania was essential to Italy because of its geographical and strategical position: because Italian capital and labour had already begun to develop its mineral resources, especially asphalt and oil: because its pasture lands were not used intensively: because its maize, rice and tobacco-producing areas were not properly worked—"in spite of technical and financial help supplied by Italy" (*Corriere della Sera*, April 8, 1939). On the 10th the *Corriere* went on to give a minute account of this technical and financia

elp: in road construction, in the harbours of Durazzo and alona, in the oil fields and electric power-stations, in stock-aising and forestry. Albania got no credit for any share of he work.

Albania is about the size of Wales and has a million nhabitants. It has a highly synthetic language—5 declensions, cases, 12 types of masculine noun!—of Aryan structure but ery mixed in vocabulary. The name Albania is said to have risen from the aspect of its mountains when covered with now; the Albanians call it Shqiperia, the Land of the Eagle. n Greek times it covered part of the coast of Illyria, Epirus nd Macedonia (on one occasion King Zog harked back to lexander the Great as a national glory) and is full of traces of nce flourishing Greek towns. When Greece became a Roman rovince, the very ancient Epidamnus became Dyrrachium—n Italian Durazzo, in Albanian Durrës—a favourite port for he landing of Roman soldiers and the head of two great oads, one east to Salonika, one south to Butrinto (Virgil's Buthrotum). The country was the scene of Pompey's resist-nce to Caesar, which ended in the defeat of Pharsalia, 48 B.C. hen came Christianity, at an early date, and spread over the hole country. By the fifth century there were archbishopries t Scutari and Durazzo.

In the division of the Empire Albania went to the East. hereafter its mountain fastnesses, its convenient ports, its owns buried away in fertile valleys made it a continuous cene of wars, and its history becomes kaleidoscopic. It was verrun by the Goths and recovered by Justinian. It was nvaded by Serbs and Bulgarians, partly retaken by a Greek mperor in 1014, formed into a separate state, invaded and aken by Normans and Angevins from Sicily. Durazzo was urrendered to Venice in 1202 (annexed to Achaia in 1333 and Serbia in 1336, it reverted to Venice with other towns in 394). The Serbian Stefan Dushan ruled over Albania from 331 to 1358, and there were many fugitives from his ule, as later before the Turks. Then there came independent ative chieftains; and a Norman named Balsha established short-lived dynasty. The advance of the Turks united the

chieftains, more or less, under the great Christian leader Skanderbeg, who defended himself in the almost impregnable Kruja and warred continually against them from 1444 to 1467. But Kruja fell finally in 1478, Scutari in 1479, Durazzo in 1502, Antivari and Dulcigno in 1571. The greater part of the country went over to Islam. But revolts against Turkish rule and guerilla warfare among the chieftains, who made themselves independent, were frequent. Of these Pashas the most famous or infamous was Ali Arslan, whom Byron has described in *Childe Harold.*

The rise of the nationalist spirit in the Near East was reflected in the formation of the Albanian League of 1879. At first the nationalists threw in their lot with the Young Turks; but the country rose in 1912 and got a grant of autonomy. The Balkan states then wanted to dismember it. But the European powers, through the Conference of Ambassadors in 1913, asserted its independence, fixed—quite artificially—its frontiers, and provided it with a king. Its very chequered history since 1914 is thus summed up by Swire (Author's Note) in a couple of sentences worth quoting though outstripped by recent events: "Albania's independence has been brief and hardly kept. Overrun by seven different armies during the World War, she barely escaped partition. Then she joined the League of Nations; but Great Britain, France and Japan admitted Italy's special interest in the maintenance of her territorial integrity as a buffer state. That has always caused grave misgivings in Yugoslavia, where Italian influence in Albania is held to be a menace; but relations between Yugoslavia and Albania are improving as both grow more mature, while Italy has, until now [1936], acted towards her small protégée with reason and restraint . . . Albania had, perforce, to stand by her ally in the Abyssinian crisis."

Of this precarious Albanian independence Zog—or Ahmet Zogu,[1] as he then was—became a protagonist from the very first. He comes of a line of hereditary chieftains—"some-

[1] Albanian nouns have two forms, indefinite and definite, both declined. *Zog* is the indefinite form—*i.e.* the name pure and simple. *Zogu* has a definite article post-fixed, and this form is used when the word is subject of a sentence, and seemingly also when it is a surname, the family name. *Zog* is also a common noun, meaning *bird*.

what," says Swire (p. 91), "in the style of our medieval barons." His father's ancestor is said to have married a daughter (or sister) of Skanderbeg, to have roused the Mati tribe against the Turks, made himself its master, and then turned Moslem. His mother, Sadie, of the Toptani, a very old and powerful feudal family, seems to have been a *maîtresse femme :* she ruled the tribe for her son from the time he was ten. He was educated in Constantinople, led his clansmen against Serbs and Montenegrins at 17 and, though defeated, continued to harry them. He stood by the ephemeral king Prince Wilhelm of Wied ; and when the prince left, Mati became a centre for Albanian nationalists. During the World War he was courted by the Austrians and for a while supported them against Italy ; but conspiring with the Bulgarians for independence, he was invited to Vienna and interned there for two years. At length, after a further detention in Italy, he reached Albania and was again in conflict with the Serbs, who were trying to take Scutari. There was something like chaos in the country : extreme poverty, perpetual changes of government, continued foreign occupation. In 1920 a National Assembly set up a nationalist government, with Tirana as capital because of its central position between north and south, and Ahmet Zogu became Minister of the Interior. That year he helped to drive the Italians from Valona in the south, though only as far as the island of Saseno in the gulf—Saseno, "Italy's Gibraltar, strongly fortified and garrisoned, with a harbour for light craft, an aerodrome and roads" (Swire, p. 151). In December 1921 he was again Minister of the Interior, and in December 1922 Prime Minister. He governed with ability, but had political and private enemies, revolutionary hotheads, irredentists, and serious agrarian reformers to deal with. He fell in 1924 and went to Belgrade : "I am not going away because I have lost, but because I do not want blood to be shed," he is quoted as saying (Tocci, p. 103).

Zog came back with the help of the Yugoslavs and was proclaimed President of the Republic in January 1925. In that rôle he showed statemanship and generosity to his opponents. But he lacked money and all ordinary means of government—

such as a gendarmerie—and was unable at any time to rule without help either from Yugoslavia or Italy. He chose Italy, and she " provided a loan, capital for a National Bank and, as time went on, many military and civil organisers and advisers " (Swire, p. 95). British officers were also employed to organise the gendarmerie, and there were private American foundations of colleges and schools. But Italy grew more and more preponderant. The Pact of Tirana had been made in 1926, the Treaty of Defensive Alliance in 1927. Zog was proclaimed King in 1928. On becoming king, he seems to have faced an impossible task in a spirit of determination. Determination based on patriotism or on ambition or on a mixture of both ? Oriental wiliness ? What qualities did he bring to and develop in kingship ? History alone will be able to tell, if it comes to be written impartially. Tocci, an Italianised Albanian who writes as his friend, represents him as a sort of paladin of latter times, providentially destined to "save his country " by guiding it into the great stream of Roman civilisation. And Jacomoni, the ex-Italian Minister to Albania and now *Luogotenente* (Lieutenant) of the King of Italy, writes in the preface to Tocci's book : " If the Albanian people has been united, vivified and led on the ways of progress, the merit is essentially attributable to its young King." Contrast this with the Italian press, almost exactly a year later, in which King Zog is called a tyrant, a satrap, a robber, and a cowardly fugitive. Truth is, no doubt, somewhere in the mean.

All that one reads makes it obvious that, though there was " progress " and though there were a modern legal code and police system, the country was not in hand. Moreover, a book like that of Nexhmie Zaimi leaves the impression that the progress in question meant rather a veneer of modern ideas than a penetration of the country's spirit with anything really constructive. Has modern material civilisation anything more to give to a country with Albania's past ?

MARY RYAN

THE INSTITUTE OF THE ASSUMPTION

Its Centenary and its Co-foundress Catherine O'Neill

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

THE eighteenth century, in its later decades, presented to the world so many new philosophic and social conceptions that we are apt to overlook the fact that, in France at least, it also occupied itself greatly with the problem of feminine education. And the first outcome of the discussions was a definite distrust of the education given in religious institutions.

Up to the middle of the century convent education, for the daughters of all parents who could afford it, was universally accepted and approved. It was a custom not wholly inspired by religious considerations, but was in part at least an outcome of the curious indifference concerning their children displayed by all fashionable women of the time. Having spent their first years with a foster-mother in the country, little girls were packed off at a still early age to a convent school—not returning, even for holidays, till sixteen or seventeen years of age, when they were married as soon as might be. Intellectually their attainments were of the smallest: dancing and music were their main accomplishments—parents indeed asking for little more. Towards the middle of the century there came what was known as a return to nature, a realisation of the need for the cultivation of family life and a revolt against the excessive artificiality of the life of the time—exemplified, even at the Court, by Marie-Antoinette at Trianon playing at being a dairy-maid.

Unconsciously, as regards education, public opinion was adopting many of the ideas that Fénelon had preached to deaf ears a century earlier. Thus the reform movement was only partially anticlerical, although Rousseau had, of course, a considerable share in it. Still less was it definitely feminist,

but rather a genuine and praiseworthy recognition that if women were to fulfil their true rôle in the social life of the State, they must be prepared for it in childhood by their own mothers aided by competent teachers. Women such as Madame de Genlis and Madame d'Epinay were eloquent in propagating pedagogical theories, wise and unwise, among their equals; but it is curious to note that the day-school solution had as yet occurred to no one.

The years of the Revolution were to sweep away all existing convent schools, while the Republic proclaimed officially that it had no concern with girls' education. Thus, in the early years of the Empire, a free field lay before the educationists, and notable women were not slow in taking advantage of the occasion. Among such Catholic foundresses it was fully recognised that if, in the interests of religion, convent education was to be restored to honour, it must be built upon a far broader and more intellectual basis than before and must be at least the equal of the new secular schools that were springing up. Thus Blessed Julie Billiard aimed from the first at a thorough training in pedagogy for her teaching nuns. And it will be remembered how Père Barat sternly drove his little sister Madeleine Sophie—"far beyond prudence," Archbishop Goodier writes—through a stiff educational course, including the Latin and Greek classics, in preparation for her work as foundress of the Society of the Sacred Heart.

Much the same occurred later in the nineteenth century when a zealous and eloquent but somewhat erratic priest, the abbé Combalot, conceived the idea of the now well-known Institute of the Assumption. The intellectual qualifications he demanded of Eugénie Milleret and her early companions were almost excessive; they certainly displayed a realisation that convent education, if it was to serve the true interests of the Church, was to be both educationally and spiritually the best that it was possible to supply. Here, in both respects, he was marvellously served by the official foundress, Mère Eugénie, and by her life-long helper, who fully deserves to be called a co-foundress, Catherine O'Neill, afterwards Mother Thérèse-Emmanuel.

Much may be said in criticism of the abbé Combalot who, successful missioner as he was, managed to quarrel with almost every Bishop in France and was to prove himself utterly incapable of directing the little community he had founded. Yet it must be conceded that he showed an almost miraculous spiritual discernment in his selection of the first subjects to carry into effect a conception that had come to him when on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Anne d'Auray in Brittany. There he became convinced that the Blessed Virgin desired him to found an educational institute in honour of her Assumption, the nuns to wear a purple habit with a white veil. Bearing in mind the primary need of the times, *instaurare omnia in Christo*, the pupils were to be solidly grounded in the liturgy and history of the Church. For fifteen years the abbé cherished this dream in his heart, when, through some apparently trivial circumstance, he came in contact with Eugénie Milleret de Brou, a beautiful and talented girl of 19, seeking how best to spend her life in the service of God. He at once perceived in her the foundress of his institute and, winning her over to his plans, started her on a rigid spiritual probation. Two other promising postulants emerged unexpectedly within a few months. But more startling than any was the abbe's first interview with Catherine O'Neill.

A descendant of the old Irish family of O'Neill and a native of Limerick, Catherine and her elder sister Marion lost their mother in early childhood and were sent over to be educated first at the Bar Convent, York, where they appear not to have been happy, and then at New Hall, Essex, where the enclosed life of the Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre in their beautiful old Tudor palace made a profound impression on Catherine. Back in Ireland, however, the sisters, blessed with good looks and position, led a gay and frivolous life which soon dimmed their religious fervour. High-spirited and impetuous, Catherine quickly became an accepted favourite in their little circle, when a sudden loss of the family income left the sisters with only their mother's small fortune to depend on. Characteristically, Catherine decided to alter their whole mode of life. Inspired by Madame de Stael's *Corinne* with a desire for

foreign travel, she and Marion started for Paris and settled at the well-known Abbaye-aux-Bois which housed at that time, in the convent guest-house, Mme. Récamier and other fashionable ladies, who were much taken with the attractive Irish girls and shewed them the sights of Paris. Catherine, however, was again tormented with scruples concerning her mode of life. Had she, or had she not, a religious vocation? In Lent, persuaded by one of their French friends, the sisters followed a course of sermons by the then popular abbé Combalot. Though not too favourably impressed by his rather florid eloquence, Catherine ultimately resolved to go to confession to him and consult him as to her vocation. But at her first words in the confessional the priest peremptorily stopped her and ordered her to call and see him later in the morning. Much mystified she complied, and the impetuous abbé informed her then and there that it was the will of God that she should be a nun and help in the founding of the new institute he outlined to her. It was in vain that Catherine protested—and rightly—against so precipitate a decision, for in the end she felt impelled to kneel before him and vow herself to the work.

A few weeks later Eugénie Milleret and her first two companions were duly established in extreme poverty in a small flat in an obscure quarter of Paris and had embarked on a strict novitiate and a severe educational training under the unsparing direction of the abbé Combalot. Held back by the tears and protests of her disconsolate sister, it was not till August (1839) that Catherine was able definitely to join the infant community. Yet already there was established between her and the youthful foundress that warm affection and complete confidence which was to endure, without a cloud, for well-nigh half a century and was to prove, equally to both, a source of joy and spiritual profit. From the first Catherine appreciated in her superior that prudence and balanced judgment which even in her youth were among her marked characteristics. Humanly speaking, Catherine herself had much to contend with. Her pride, her love of independence, her habit of judging of everything for herself, made a life of

obedience and evangelical simplicity singularly difficult for her. But for one of her ardent and generous nature, having once given herself to God, there could be no half-measures, and she bravely faced the life of poverty and the complete oblation of self demanded of her, even submitting her soul in entire humility to the exigent direction of the abbé Combalot—whom, there is reason to think, she was never able to accept with the implicit faith and confidence of her companions. When, in due course, she and a fellow-postulant were admitted to take a vow of obedience, it is related in the *Origines* that, on the abbé joyfully saying to her that she was now wholly his, she replied : " Oh no, Father ; I belong wholly to God."

It was indeed through the founder himself—not long after the clothing of the first five postulants in the now familiar purple habit and the removal to a larger and more suitable house—that the first great trial fell on Mère Eugénie and her community. While in Paris, the abbé ruled the daily life of the young nuns even in the minutest particular and constantly gave contradictory instructions ; and while frequently absent on his missionary labours, he would allow no one to take his place. Mère Eugénie, with acute distress, saw the whole venture imperilled by his often tyrannical methods, more especially towards herself. The matter reached the ears of the Archbishop, Mgr. Affre, who, already having reasons for distrusting the abbé's discretion, informed him of his intention to appoint an official Superior to the young community and thus to regularise its canonical position. In direct opposition to Mgr. Affre, the abbé hastily conceived the plan of transferring the whole community to Brittany and opening a school there. Doubting the approval of Mère Eugénie, he managed to call the nuns together in her absence and informed them of his intentions. Startled and confused, they remained silent ; but Mère Thérèse-Emmanuel, as Catherine was now called, at once told him, sadly but firmly, that his proposal was quite out of the question for them and that under no circumstances would any one of them consent to be separated from their beloved Superior. Deeply hurt, the abbé Combalot left the house at once with the intention never to return. In justice to him it

should be added that the next day he sent a suitably humble letter to the Archbishop commending the nuns to his paternal care.

Their troubles, however, were still far from ended. Mgr. Affre did indeed appoint Mgr. Gros as their ecclesiastical Superior, but neither prelate appeared to be as yet convinced of the utility of the institute. Once more—as Mother Thérèse-Emmanuel, with Shakesperean memories, put it—it was a question of to be or not to be, Mgr. Gros even suggesting to the Mother Superior a return to the Visitation convent where she had spent a preparatory novitiate. Happily, after much prayer, Mère Eugénie wrote so wise and beautiful a letter to Mgr. Gros, laying before him the whole aim and purpose of their vocation, that he was entirely converted, and on the Feast of the Assumption in the following year the first Sisters were admitted to their solemn profession. In the allocation of offices that followed, Mother Thérèse-Emmanuel was appointed mistress of novices to the postulants who now began to present themselves.

What then were the special features that were to distinguish the Assumption from all other educational institutes? In her admirable letter to Mgr. Gros, Mère Eugénie pointed out that convent education had fallen into disrepute in France, that grills were unpopular with parents: hence they demanded only a semi-enclosure. It was essential too that intellectually the education given should be equal to the best non-Catholic standard, while a really full knowledge of the doctrines, liturgy and history of the Church must be inculcated in the children. For this the spiritual life of the nuns themselves must be not less full than that of the old enclosed orders, though adapted to modern needs. Hence their ambition to recite the full Roman office in choir, to promote a special devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and to practise much austerity in their hidden daily life. While not criticising teaching congregations which were content with lesser religious observances, Mère Eugénie contended that she and her companions felt the need of a truly monastic life for themselves, if, in their constant relations with the world through their schools,

they were to be protected from all weakening of their religious fervour.

The rapid success of the Assumption schools was proof of Mère Eugénie's judgment. Aiming originally at providing a solid Catholic education for the daughters of professional and middle class families, they soon became—first at Chaillot and later in the big convent at Auteuil—favourite schools for the aristocracy. One can easily understand the attraction, both for parents and children, of these ardent young nuns in their graceful habit, with their real accomplishments and with a certain gaiety of spirit that has always characterised them. Mother Thérèse-Emmanuel was, of course, less in the class-rooms than others, but as teacher of English she too came in frequent contact with the pupils. And in early years the school attracted one of her own cousins, Josephine MacNamara, who later joined the Institute and, as Mère Marguerite, was for many years the much-loved Superior of the Kensington Square convent in London. Ultimately no less than three nieces passed through the Auteuil novitiate and became members of the Institute.

As a nun Catherine O'Neill was destined never to set foot in her native country, but in 1850 she was selected to make the first English foundation at Richmond, Yorkshire, where the Jesuit fathers already had a mission. It appeared quite a hazardous enterprise ninety years ago, when Cardinal Wiseman had just issued his celebrated pastoral announcing the re-establishment of the Hierarchy, to invade this remote little hill-side town. The nuns were not to open a boarding-school—that was only to come later—but the Duchess of Leeds, a fervent convert, invited them to take charge of a small orphanage and a day-school. Everywhere the Sisters met with the warmest reception and as, for lack of a chaplain, they were compelled to attend Mass at the parish church some distance away, they became familiar figures in the steep streets. In this way they came within the vision of a very rough set of women working in a near-by paper factory, and Mother Thérèse-Emmanuel's really angelic appearance made an instantaneous impression on them. Soon some of the most

notorious of the women were under her instruction, and a number of conversions took place. Moreover, several English postulants presented themselves and were passed on in due course to the mother-house. Thus the marked success of Mother Thérèse-Emmanuel's rule as a local superior shows how competently this contemplative nun discharged her daily practical duties, while the frank correspondence that passed between her and Mère Eugénie throws a fresh light on the very intimate relations that existed between the two nuns, and not less on the unfailing humility with which the local Superior submitted her will in all things to the Mother-General.

Save for this interlude, the real life's work of Catherine O'Neill was as novice-mistress for some forty years to the Assumption community. While Mère Eugénie necessarily travelled about, receiving important Catholics and conducting a vast correspondence, Mother Thérèse-Emmanuel directed the hidden life of the Institute. All the early superiors, some of them women of outstanding ability, passed through her hands, were fashioned in her spirit and trained to sanctification by her example. One can scarcely over-estimate the value of her presence within this nascent congregation which aimed, as we have seen, at a very special vocation, at once monastic and educational. No one could have responded more perfectly both to the active and the contemplative side of the life than the novice-mistress, and it is of this latter side that it is time to speak.

Mother Thérèse-Emmanuel's supernatural life began as early as Christmas 1840, when she was twenty-four. At the midnight Mass she came to understand that God demanded of her the complete annihilation of self, of her will, her desires, her very substance, in order that He might take possession of her soul, which was to be as in a cradle whence it would emerge as a new creature. Trembling with emotion she afterwards related, as best she could, to Mère Eugénie what had befallen her, terrified both then and often later lest the source of the internal voice she had heard so clearly should not be of divine origin. Mère Eugénie consoled and encouraged her, and begged her to write down as faithfully as possible all she had seemed to hear.

This practice, in obedience to her various directors, she, continued throughout her life in a clarity of language all the more remarkable that she was writing in a foreign tongue. There thus exists within the Institute a large volume of her revelations which have never been officially examined or authenticated, but which remain as a spiritual treasure for her community. For she never ceased to hear a voice in her frequent states of ecstasy, now enlightening her, now consoling, but always impelling her to the utter abandonment of self and the closest possible union with the Sacred Heart of Our Lord. At times, in the first years, she suffered terribly both in body and soul. Her ardent and vigorous temperament needed a long course of purification before it could submit itself wholly to the insistent demands of the voice and the full manifestations of the designs of God for her. But her courage never failed, and it was the complete victory over self that she achieved which made her so incomparable a guide to the novices under her charge. For them her frequent states of ecstasy in chapel, from which she sometimes had to be recalled to her daily duties, were no secret; for her absolute immobility and the radiance of her countenance as she knelt in her stall revealed them to those near her.

The question of a director for the Mother was naturally a difficult one. In the early years the ordinary convent confessors seem to have been of little spiritual help, and it was Mère Eugénie herself who, to the best of her ability, advised and encouraged the young nun. But she was the first to feel the need for more experienced direction and consulted her own much-valued friend and director, Père d'Alzon, founder of the Assumption Fathers. Père d'Alzon, however, who had the whole of his new foundation on his hands, was unwilling to undertake fresh responsibilities, and for some two years the novice-mistress consulted Père Lacordaire, a warm friend of the Institute. But he too felt unequal to the task of guiding a soul so specially favoured, and it was he who proposed for her Mgr. Gay, then still a young priest but already noted for his deep piety and for his special understanding of supernatural states of prayer. No choice could have been more justified,

and until her death forty years later Mother Thérèse-Emmanuel enjoyed the inestimable benefit of a devoted and tactful director who watched with joy over her spiritual ascent, writing her admirable letters when absent, letters full of wise counsel both as to her own spiritual needs and as to her duties as novice-mistress.

In early years the great zeal of the novice-mistress made her perhaps over strict ; but as she herself increased in holiness, she developed a wonderful patience and tenderness toward the very varied members of her flock, while firmly building up the traditions of the Institute. More especially was she strict concerning the spirit of obedience and the practice of poverty and, womanlike, she retained a keen eye for the smallest lapses in such things as neatness and punctuality. Above all she was insistent on a good knowledge of Latin and a great love for and a perfect recital of the Divine Office, on which from the first the Institute had set great store and for the retention of which—so unusual for a teaching congregation—it had had to be very insistent. On the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, 1870-1, when all the Assumption schools were turned into hospitals, it fell to Mother Thérèse-Emmanuel to convey her charges to safety at Sacconex, near Geneva, and to keep them united and faithful through all the difficulties of the time. Here they lived under the immediate protection of Cardinal Mermillod, who conceived a great admiration for the novice-mistress and was wont to say of her : " C'est une flamme ! "

Mgr. Gay, also, made no secret of the real veneration with which he came to regard his penitent, of whom he frequently said that he had never known a soul to whom God had spoken so fully. In later years he did not hesitate to admit the spiritual benefit he himself had received from her. Referring in a letter, to a book of his own from which she had derived help, he wrote : " In a way it is quite simple. It is your grace that has flowed into its pages, and if God had not ordained that I should know you and follow you step by step, there are many things that I should have neither known nor written. Your life has been more to me than any book."

A time came when the frail body could bear no more. In Holy Week 1883, Mother Thérèse-Emmanuel fell dangerously ill with pneumonia, and after that long winter months had to be spent in the beautiful convent above Cannes which the Institute had acquired. She recovered, however, for a time her old energy and clarity of judgment when some opposing currents of thought appeared within the Congregation and there was the possibility of a change in the Mother-General. As Assistant-General she firmly insisted on the immediate summoning of a General Chapter, when happily all differences were adjusted and Mère Eugénie was confirmed in her life-long office. Later on the Mother-General travelled to Rome to obtain the definitive approval of the Rule and was able to return *via* Cannes—where Mother Thérèse-Emmanuel lay dying —bearing the precious volume of the Constitutions with her. It was a last crowning happiness to the novice-mistress that the work to which she had devoted her life should have received from Rome the seal of a final and complete approbation. After months of intense suffering, she died fortified by the Sacraments of the Church and comforted by the presence of Mère Eugénie.

Irish sisters are to be found scattered in convents all the world over; there can be scarcely any that has not at least a lay sister from Ireland. Few of these voluntary exiles, however, have attained to the sanctity that has raised Catherine O'Neill to the position of co-foundress with one whose Cause of Beatification has been introduced in Rome in the year of the centenary celebrations of the Institute of the Assumption.

V. M. Crawford

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

I.

HOPES AND FEARS

Uaitne Mac Uilliam Í Choitchis cct.

1. Fada an cuimhneise ar cóir nDé,
mairid 'n-ar gcionn ón céidré;
tiocfa lá bus dóigh ar ndearadh
má tá an cóir ar cuimneagadh.

2. Ní fuigthi éanlá eile
nach géadha ón óigh impidhe
toil ar mná gaoil do dhéanamh
go lá an taoidh do thaisbéanadh.

3. Guin a thaoidh, tollad a bonn,
a n-ioc ní hé go bfédfam,
ní chuinfe ar dtagra is mé a-muigh
dá mbé le hagra n-álaidh.

4. Ní dhíolfadh briathra a buime
a bfoil d'agra oruinne;
léigthe an chíoch i gceilg chuige
fíoch an leinb más lughaide.

5. Roinn Muire nír iongnadh air
teagh comhóil cloinne hÁdhaimh;
dá mbeadh sí ar thrian an tighe
nír chall dí 's a daoinighe.

6. Ná maoidheadh do mhéadh mo chean
nach fuighinn mar cách cuireadh;
féach Éadha ar a uille dheis;
sgéala uirre ná hinnis.

7. Ar dhasadh corcra do chuir
lion nach seachain síol Ádhaimh;
fuair ar leirg thairtigh troighidh
seilg nar aithnidh d'fiadhaidhibh.

8. Fleadh dhuibh dhíol don uile fhear
do ullmhaigh róin is ríteag;
Gion go mbeat iarraidh oirne
tiagair go teach táboirne.

9. Tionóilid 'n-a timcioll soin
na bráigde do bí i nglasaibh
sé line as-teag ar dteachta
's cneadh cige 'n-a gcuideachta.

10. Guin an deilg do bí 'n-a bois
do maitheadh do mhuin cleamhnois;
do bí cneadh an deilge i ndán;
feirrde gach sneadh a síochláidh.

11. Tarla Muire ar nimh a-nois
romhuinn 'n-a réaltain eolais;
fríoth bean i mbun an tige
neamh ag dul i ndaoinige.

12. Mairg ar a n-aigeora a fuil
an lá nach bia 'n-a bráthair;
breath ríogh as dóigh dar ndearadh
bíodh ag óigh a héileagadh.

13. Gibé chuimhnigeas re a chois
nír maitheadh an deoch dhomblais;
táinig soin dinn fa dheireadh
goin an chíg nar cúitigeadh.

14. Más tríom a-tá fa dhomhda
ar siur tar éis t'oileamhna
doibh iongnadh cara mná a-muig
—má tá ní raiba romhuibh.

15. Leat do tileadh teag nimhe
—do dheich n-ordaibh aingidhe
tú féin do thogaibh an teag—
béim ar t'obair ní héidear.

16. Éagga re hucht a gconta,
ré iomlán na hógochta,
bean nar léig ar ndaoradh dhuit,
téid 'n-a haonar fat éaruic.

17. An luiḃ ler slánaiġeaḋ sinn
do ġeallaḋ d'inġin Iaiċim;
díol a molta an luiḃ leiġis,
ġuin t'oċta nír airiġis.

18. Do-béara duinn uair eile
neam i n-onóir t'impíde
dá ndiultar let eiḋir inn;
diultaḋ leinib ní luaiḋim.

19. Aiṫiḋ dúinn ġur fearais t'fuil
ar dteaċt i ġcli daṁ ġcoḃair;
ġuin ċride nír ċuirṫe i suim,
ní fuiġṫe t'fine ar áṁuill.

20. Ġnáṫ duḃaḋ i ndiaiḋ ġoile;
lia sa ċáċ ar ġciontaine
ceo diomḋa ós ġonaiḃ na nġlac
naċ iomḋa conair ċuġat.

21. Ós tú aiġne as fearr as-toiġ
taġair, a óġ, 'n-a aġaiḋ;
ní treise le tairrnġe an duinn
dá mbeisse it aiġne aġuinn.

22. Is donn ġin ġo mbeaṫ tairrnġe
más tú fear an bfiaḋaiġne
luaṫ an deilġ do ḃean is doiṡ;
do ṡeilġ as-teaġ ní ċuġois.

23. Ón tráṫ do toirrċeaḋ Muire
a-tá 'n-a róḋ rioġruide;
créaḋ nabuḋ ḋóiġ neaṁ a-nos?
ná bean don óig a heolas.

24. Clann Éaḃa d'éis a ġceannaiġ
lion t'feirġe do aiṫearraiġ;
sġuir doḋ ċuiṁne an ċneaḋ ċride,
neaṁ ní uiġḃe ar t'impíde.

25. A-tá an óġ dúinn mar dearar
—dual cairdeas do ċuiṁneaġaḋ,
díol t'fala ní héidir linn—
cara an éigin ar t'uillinn.

26. Dá ndúntar doirse nime
leo mac do muin oirdire
cuir, a bean, díot na doirse;
a cneadh d'ioc ní féadfoinnse.

27. Ní beitte ag cuimne na gcló
do saor an uile i n-aonló;
dul 'n-a cois ní féad t'oirdre
do féag i gcrois comairle.

28. Lion grás i n-a ngabtar sionn
do Muire is am dá inmoll;
cuirfid óg i lion fad fleid
gid mór a díol do daoinib.

29. Ní fuil act airdrí uile
reimpe san réim rioghuide;
cioc do muime, do meas mé,
an uille deas ní daoire.

30. A-tá a-ris 'n-a ré lán
—a-nois as uair dá iomrád—
do goin croigig ní geib greim
ag sin t'oidir ar t'uillinn.

31. Re coillide gid cóir druim,
osgail an ríteac romuinn;
sguir dot feirg ar fead bfleide,
bean an leinb do luaidpide.

32. Ní cosmail nac cuala an óg
an fád fa bfuil ar dtionól;
flead bainse ar n-a déanaim di
féagaid an t-ainmse uirte.

33. Flead nar dearmaid an dáileam
—deiread cumainn cómáiream—
sread do fear a cneid cíoga
flead mar sin ní soidíola.

34. Toil Dé gin go ndearna mé
imread ar gcuid don cluice;
fágbad sé ag an óig m'ionad
na sé slóig ga suidiogad.

35. Íoc eile i n-a ċur i gcrois
ní fuigċear uainn 'n-a héagmhois;
aiċniḋ ḋí ḋíol a éarca
an ċíoġ ar ṫí a taisbéanta.

36. Ar a breiṫ do ḃí a dalta;
crú an taoiḃ gió tonn rabarta
—cia an bean do bhéag an leanaḃ?
a ċneaḋ ní féaḋ d'aireagaḋ.

37. Gan agra an taoiḃ táinig de,
a-táid ar dteaċt re céile;
maiṫfiḋ deid a glac do guin
leig idir mac 's máṫair.

38. Tar a ṫoil gé táid ag dul
an ċlann do fás ó Ádhamh,
dob fiu a ḃuime ar a beiṫ díoḃ
a mbreiṫ ar uille an airdrioġ.

39. Gió mór mbioḃḃa ag teaċt dá toig
a-támaid uirre d'easḃaiḋ;
a gaol uile as-teag ní ṫug,
ní bean duine do ḋearmuḋ.

40. Féaḋ na gcóig n-aimsear eile
do ḃí oirne a oirḃire
go nuaiḋe ag an óig gur an;
a ċóir uaiḋe ní anfaḋ. Fada.

Translation

1. Long is God's debt remembered, it stands against us from the beginning; a day is coming when, if that debt be kept in mind, we are like to be rejected!

2. Never till He shows us His wounded side shall ye find a day when compliance with the will of our virgin-kinswoman will fail to secure for us our requests.

3. If He be set on charging us with His wounding, His wounded side and pierced foot, not merely can I not atone for them, but I shall be cast off and He will not listen to my defence.

4. No (mere) words of His mother could clear off the charge against me; she must coaxingly show her breast to her Son if so His wrath may abate.

5. Of course Mary must have a share in the banquet-hall of Adam's race, it would be absurd for her to have only a third of it—seeing the number of followers she has.

6. Let Christ not say that owing to my many sins I am not to be invited (to His feast) like other folk; look at Eve at His right hand; do not try to explain away her case!

7. Christ took up in His bleeding hands the net from which Adam's race cannot escape ; on the rich hillside of His feet He found a quarry no hunter had ever heard of !

8. He prepared for us a feast-hall and a feast great enough for the whole world ; we enter a tavern without waiting to be invited !

9. All the captives who were in chains, the Six Generations, come in and gather round Him, His breast-wound introducing them.

10. The nail-wound in His hand is forgiven us owing to Mary's espousals ; that nail-wound *had* to be inflicted ; better that a stream flow quietly !

11. Mary is gone to Heaven before us, our guiding star ; when Heaven's castle was getting crowded, a lady was put in charge over it.

12. Woe to all whom He charges with His blood when He acts not as kinsman (but as judge) ; may the Virgin contest the Lord's judgment when it looks like a rejection of us.

13. Even the gall-draught was not spared to Christ, whoever it was among the bystanders who thought of (giving) it (to Him) ; thus, even at the end, it was we who prevented any alleviation of His breast-wound.

14. If my sister, after all her nursing of Thee, incur Thy wrath for defending me, 'twill be strange for such a dear spouse to be rejected ; if she be—it never happened before !

15. Thou hast built Heaven's house for the Ten Orders of Angels, and has ever ruled it, nor can fault be found with aught Thou doest.

16. Mary is a never-waning moon, a moon full-bright with virginity ; she does not let Thee reject us, but undertakes herself to pay Thy *éiric*.

17. The herb that cured us was promised to Joachim's daughter ; ever to be praised is that herb ; (owing to it) Thou didst hardly feel Thy breast-wound.

18. If (O Mary) I be rejected by thy Son, thou shalt afterwards get heaven for me by thy prayer ; I take no account of my rejection by a mere child !

19. After Thou hadst taken flesh to save us, we had to wait some time for Thee to shed Thy blood ; Thy race was not to be lightly won, and therefore Thou didst not think much of having Thy heart pierced.

20. Hot sun brings on a haze ; our sins are growing, and a mist of anger is rising from Thy wounded hands, so that scarcely any path to Thee can be discerned.

21. Thou, O Virgin, art the best advocate in court ; plead against the nailed foot, it cannot prevail if thou pleadest for us.

22. Thou wert hunting me ; but even if Thou hadst had no nail in Thy foot,there was an equally big nail in Thy hand, and so Thou couldst not carry home Thy quarry.

23. Mary after having conceived became the royal way ; is not Heaven in sight already ? Prevent her not from guiding us.

24. Though Eve's race now redeemed has got free from the net of Thy anger ; (yet, O God the Father), it cannot get Heaven by merely asking Thee for it ; do not let the heart-wound lurk in Thy memory.

25. We cannot atone for Thy blood ; yet to remember friends is a dictate of nature, and the Virgin, our friend in need, is now, we are told, at Thy side.

26. I cannot pay for Thy Son's wounds ; if then, in anger He close Heaven's doors against me, do thou, O lady, pass within those doors (that I may follow thee).

27. We must not think merely of the nails which in one day saved the world ; Thy Son was not able to walk (owing to them), but He strove to instruct us on the Cross.

28. 'Tis time now for Mary to set her love-net to catch us ; however many of us folk she wants, she will put them in it when preparing the feast.

29. Only Heaven's king is above her in the royal genealogy ; Thy right hand is not, I believe, dearer to Thee than Mary's breast.

30. I can say now : " Thy foot-wound, now cured, is as a full moon and no longer pains Thee ; behold Thy Son beside Thee."

31. Do Thou open Thy palace to me, though a foe such as I am deserves to be rejected ; cease Thy anger while the feast is on ; Youth's spouse is to be proclaimed.

32. The Virgin will surely know the reason of our gathering, the wedding-feast being given her ; she sees that name given it.

33. Most precious is this banquet, banquet where cupbearer never fails ; " love calls for sacrifices in the end," and so the wine flowed forth from the wounded breast !

34. Though I have been displeasing to Him, may God take my part in the game, may He let the Virgin settle my place for me when the seats of the Six Hosts are being arranged.

35. Mary knows how to pay His *éiric* when His wounded breast is being pointed to ; without her help I can make no other atonement for Christ's crucifying.

36. Mary's Son has ever been subject to her power ; even when His heart-blood was flowing at full tide, He felt not the smart of His wound ; who was she who could thus fascinate Him ?

37. Christ and Mary are now together ; hence He talks no longer of His wounded side ; He will now forgive you for piercing His hand ; let the Son and His mother settle it between them !

38. Though Adam's race disobeyed God, the fact of Mary's belonging to it enabled her to bring it to the King's side.

39. Many as are the foes that have yielded to her, our number has not yet satisfied her ; she has not yet brought all her race to Heaven, and she is not a woman to forget anyone !

40. God's wrath lay heavy on us during the Five Ages till the Virgin checked it ; His justice would otherwise have kept importuning Him.

NOTES

MS. 23 D 14 p. 115. 5*b*. ċt. 8*c*. 22*a*. ḃeaċ. 24*c*. a ċn. 28*d*. a ḃí (dot under ḃ) ꝺíoł. 34*c*. aꝝ aꝝ an. 35*b*. hꝑeaʀꝝ.

REVIEWS

Ecclesiastical Art

AN INTRODUCTION TO FRENCH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE. By Arthur Gardner. Pp. 353. Cambridge: University Press. 245 Plates. 1938. 18s.

STAINED GLASS OF THE XIIth AND XIIIth CENTURIES FROM FRENCH CATHEDRALS. Text by Marcel Aubert. "Art and Nature in Colour" Series. London: Batsford. 1938. 10s. 6d.

NOS EGLISES. Liturgie. Architecture moderne et contemporaine. Mobilier, Peinture et Sculpture. By Dom E. Roulin, O.S.B. Quarto. Pp. xxxii+900. Paris: Lethielleux. 1939. Cloth. 25s.

MODERN SACRED ART. An International Annual Review. Edited by Joan Morris. London: Sands. 160 illustrations. Pp. 158. 1938. 7s. 6d.

THESE four books cover almost the entire field of ecclesiastical art, at least so far as France is concerned; and French art, if not supreme, is at least typical of the best traditions of ecclesiastical art.[1]

Mr. Gardner's is a thorough and businesslike piece of work. It wastes no words on vague descriptions and, what is no less uncommon, wastes no illustrations. Apart from the notes to the pictures, the letterpress runs to only 83 pages; but all of it is to the point. And all of the 250 excellent photographs definitely illustrate something in the text. Not content with that, the author has appended to each photograph a pithy and informative note. And various helpful plans and figures are inserted in the text.

It should be noted at once, because this is not clear from the title, that the period covered is from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries, only two very brief sections being devoted to earlier church architecture and nothing at all being said about the modern period. Practically speaking, therefore, the book deals with Romanesque and Gothic architecture, a further chapter being devoted to Flamboyant, an elaboration of Gothic.

Though the author eschews theorizing, he throws out interesting views and ideas by the way. One of the most interesting of his points is his description of how Romanesque passed into Gothic (pp. 41 *sqq.*). There is also his classification of Romanesque under no less than nine local varieties in France alone. The fact is that Romanesque—and Gothic likewise—admits of almost endless variety. The wonderful buildings illustrated in this book are evidence enough of that.

Reading such a book as this, one cannot help thinking of the story of our own architecture. How complete the contrast is. Of the buildings illustrated in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, a great proportion date from a period from which in France little or

[1] As Mr. Robert Speaight says in *The Tablet*, "the crowning achievements of Gothic must be seen in France and nowhere else."

nothing survives even as ruins. Our native church architecture reached its culmination in Cormac's Chapel in 1127 and practically reached its end with the Norman Invasion less than fifty years later. Again, among the 250 photographs in Mr. Gardner's book only two or three are pictures of ruins, whereas all but a very few of the monuments of early and mediaeval Irish architecture lie in ruins. Not ours the fault.

The second of these books supplies, what is outside the scope of the first, illustrations of the magnificent stained glass windows which not only completed and adorned the architecture of the great mediaeval churches but conveyed so much religious instruction to the faithful. Nineteen plates are given in full, rich colours, the editor supplying the location, date, and subject of each. The colour process was carried out by the Iris Press of Berne, Switzerland. There is a valuable little study on the Evolution and Technique of Early Stained Glass by M. Marcel Aubert and an Introduction by Mr. G. G. Coulton that might well have been omitted.

The third book on our list is, as its title indicates, very comprehensive in its scope. Part I is the author's most personal and perhaps most valuable contribution. It is entitled "Entre Nous" and takes the form of an intimate and confidential address intended chiefly for the clergy and nuns and indirectly for the architects and other artists whom they employ. Dom Roulin points out clearly but not aggressively the shortcomings of Catholic art to-day. There are no sweeping condemnations: good qualities as well as defects are specified and illustrated by examples.

Then the author proceeds to set forth clearly and definitely the principles of religious art, endeavouring to put those concerned in possession of just the information they need. He deals with plan, exterior, interior, church furniture and fittings, plastic arts (Stations, statuary, etc.), mural decoration, then iconography and symbolism.

In his general attitude Dom Roulin is neither modernist nor rigidly conservative. If he frankly condemns certain modern excesses (he describes certain German and Swiss Catholic churches as factory-style or garages or cinemas), he has words of warm commendation for many distinctively modern buildings. He fully admits the good qualities of the Church of Christ the King, Turner's Cross, Cork, but criticizes it for certain other features. (This and Spiddal Church, which he compares to a church in Barcelona, are the only illustrations from Ireland). He joins issue with some of the theorists of modern art, notably with the great artist Maurice Denis, whose practice is better than his theory.

The list of the illustrations in this work is truly imposing—51 plans, 60 views of exteriors, 37 of interiors, 70 porches and façades, 23 spires and towers, 34 stained glass windows, 9 baptismal fonts, 51 sanctuaries

and altars, and nearly 200 others of various details. And these pictures, like Mr. Gardner's, really illustrate the text. The author has by no means confined himself to France and Belgium. He has studied churches in Sweden, England, Germany, the United States, and elsewhere. But Italy and Spain hardly come within his purview.

The priest and the architect who acquire this book will have acquired a veritable treasure and one that is certainly not costly at the price.

The art illustrated in Dom Roulin's work is modern ; that illustrated in *Modern Sacred Art* might almost be described as modernist. At all events the emphasis is on modern. To say this is not to disparage it. Much of the art pictured here is original and distinguished ; a good deal of it is, in addition, well suited to its sacred purpose. One cannot say so much for all the examples given. But that is to be expected, for much of this work is experimental. One may surely be grateful for the 160 finely reproduced plates and the many valuable essays (Maritain, Cingria, Severini, Watkin, etc.) brought together in this annual. S. J. B.

Biography

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE. By Frank MacDermot. London : Macmillan. 1939. 15s. net.

THE LAST INVASION OF IRELAND. By Richard Hayes. Dublin : M. H. Gill. 2nd Edition. 1939. 15s.

There has been an undoubted increase of public interest during recent years in the history of the 1798 rebellion. To this no one has contributed more than Dr. Richard Hayes, and it is very gratifying to find that his enthusiasm, industry, and skill have been so far appreciated as to render necessary in less than two years a second edition of what many admirers have good reason to consider his best book. He has taken advantage of the opportunity to add nearly thirty pages of valuable new material, as well as a map of the battlefield of Ballinamuck. Most of the new material consists of personal records, letters, lists of those tried at courts-martial and of those claiming compensation for losses suffered in Mayo during the rebellion, and finally a brief chapter on events in Galway in 1798. It is clear that there is still room for further gleaning of the kind so patiently practised by Dr. Hayes, and we hope that continued demand for his excellent book will lead to the publication of more and more material in future editions. In any case he will have the credit not alone of having worked over a comparatively virgin field, but of having been the first to use for purposes of Irish historical study the methods familiarised by such men as Lenotre in France.

Mr. MacDermot's biography of Wolfe Tone is certain to take rank among the relatively small number of indispensable works on modern Irish history. Not only does it possess in a very high degree the

qualities one looks for in a sound piece of academic research, qualities such as completeness, order, and accuracy; but it is marked also by a power of objective judgment and by a clarity of historical vision which raise it high above the academic. The bibliography, as well as the abundant quotations, shows the thoroughness with which Mr. MacDermot has studied and mastered his evidence, while the very illustrations are in themselves an indication of his combined zeal and taste. This is particularly true of the frontispiece, from a print in the Musée Carnavalet showing the Fête des Victoires of May 29, 1796, at which Tone was present, and of the reproduction opposite p. 196 of Le Brun's "Repentant Magdalen" in the Louvre, for which Tone expresses rather extravagant admiration. The only thing we miss is a portrait of Napper Tandy, whose appearance is described with great vividness in a quotation from one who saw him in company with Tone and Hamilton Rowan.

Throughout the book Mr. MacDermot shows a power of crisp and rapid characterisation which leaves the reader in no mistake as to his personal views upon his subject, and which combines with his clarity in marshalling his facts to give the book an unusual interest. It would of course be hard to write a dull book about Tone, whose own writings reveal him as a man of very rare charm and attractiveness. Yet hero-worship and the mythologising to which he has been so long a victim have often achieved striking success in the enterprise. Mr. MacDermot is at the opposite pole from dulness, chiefly because he neither extenuates nor sets down aught in malice. Here is a frank and outspoken account of a man whose own character was frankness itself, though it is clear enough that he deliberately set himself in the last years of his life to create an artificial picture of himself which afterwards became the foundation of his legend. His incomplete autobiography, written after his exile and used by his son for the biography of 1826, represents him as having been an uncompromising revolutionary at a date several years before his opinions had in fact become fixed in that direction.

Mr. MacDermot's view, which is supported by a mass of trustworthy evidence, is that Tone's character and motives were more complex than the legend would have us believe. "His motives were a mixture of resentment, personal ambition, love of excitement, patriotism, democratic ideology . . . and enthusiastic admiration for French military prowess." This last characteristic blinded him strangely to the very obvious defects of the French régime whose aid he sought for his purposes in Ireland. He came astonishingly near success, but it remains a very big question whether success would have brought any lasting satisfaction either to himself or to the great majority of his countrymen, whose ideas and aspirations seem to have been practically a closed book to him. Mr. MacDermot judges that the results of success could

hardly have been worse than the reality of the next fifty years under the Union. Here, however, there arises the further large question as to how far Tone's attempt, and indeed the United Irish movement as a whole, contributed to the bringing about of that reality. History is infinitely more complicated than mythology, and there are many aspects of this immensely important formative period in Ireland upon which a revision of hastily-formed and superficial popular judgments is urgently necessary. One of these is the Irish policy of Pitt, for which Mr. MacDermot is prepared to say more good than is customary. Another, adverted to in this book, is the extent to which Tone and the United Irishmen were really representative of native Ireland in their time. Mr. MacDermot has made a notable contribution towards the substitution of cool, well-informed and impartial judgment for a legend which has outlived its usefulness. M. T.

MARSHAL PILSUDSKI. By W. F. Reddaway. London: Routledge. 1939. 15s. net.

THE author of this volume is an editor of the forthcoming *Cambridge History of Poland*—incidentally, a work likely to be very welcome and valuable. He is, therefore, a well-qualified specialist and enjoys the additional advantage of the most recent materials available for his work. This advantage is most obvious in the second half of the book, which deals with what may be called "contemporary" Poland—*i.e.*, the post-war years, those years in which Pilsudski, and almost he alone, *made* the Poland that exists to-day.

We might say that there are four quite distinct stages in Marshal Pilsudski's career; and the present work marks them off very clearly one from another. First of all, there is the childhood and early youth period, 1867-1884; then the revolutionary period—much the longest—1884-1904; the combatant period, 1904-1921; the final rebuilding of Poland period, lasting till the Marshal's death in 1935. It will be noted that he died comparatively young—only 68. But he had had a hard life, and fought off his final illness for years with characteristic determination.

It may seem strange to date the actual "combatant" period from 1904. But that was really the time when Pilsudski became definitely what in Ireland used to be known as "a physical force man"; for that was the year of the Russo-Japanese War—and Pilsudski had vision enough to go to Japan offering Polish aid. From that date to 1917 he never varied. Until Russia was struck down, he would do his utmost to help any enemy of hers—for Russia held the largest fragment of partitioned Poland and, on the whole, was the worst of the three oppressors, if not the most vindictive.

But with Russia gone, the two others were still left to be dealt

with. So Pilsudski ceased to help them, and was duly imprisoned in Magdeburg until the Armistice. It is a pity that his countrymen who had, according to their own lights, been working for Polish restoration in America and France never gave him credit for this imprisonment in Germany. They only remembered that he had fought for the Central Powers for more than two years—and so he must be hostile to the true interests of his country. Much of the wrangling that embittered his closing years—and also seriously impeded Polish reconstruction—is to be traced to this misunderstanding.

Mr. Reddaway is particularly fair and objective in his treatment of this period of internal dispute; he brings out clearly and strongly the enormous commonsense of the Marshal. The latter had once described himself as "a very superficial Socialist"; and he never let himself be deceived by even the most attractive catchcries. His clear aim was for the strongest possible Poland—or, at least, for the strongest possible to be made by him, Joseph Pilsudski, and of which he was the best judge, as history has even already made clear.

It is not possible, in the scope of a brief review, to touch on even a fraction of the human personal touches given by Mr. Reddaway—although they show Pilsudski peculiarly as he was. But we cannot conclude without quoting his description of the Poland the Marshal aimed to leave behind him: "A State united, national but tolerant, with access to the sea, trusting for defence to its own government and army, avoiding imported institutions, but so forming its own as to ensure social justice, framing its constitution on liberal lines while guarding against the well-known evils of democracy, the patron of its weaker neighbours but never the client of the strong." J. J. O'C.

SIR THOMAS WYSE (1791-1862). By James J. Auchmuty. London: King. 1939. 15s. net.

MR. AUCHMUTY'S study of the career of Sir Thomas Wyse might have been included in the well-known series of biographies published under the label *Curiosities of Politics*. Wyse was, ideed, a curious personage both in his private and in his public life. Ultra rigid in his principles and supremely conscious of his own rectitude he was in some repects an anticipation in real life of the Sir Willoughby Patterne of Meredithian fiction. A man of his temperament could not help being a prig, and this precluded him from achieving the success in Irish public life to which his undoubted talent, industry, and sincerity of purpose justly entitled him to aspire.

For Wyse the politician his biographer entertains a sincere admiration; for Wyse the man he has no special affection. A substantial part of this book is given up to the conjugal infelicities of its hero, and it is made abundantly clear that for them his own pedantry and priggish-

ness were largely responsible. Mr. Auchmuty's public washing of domestic dirty linen—done as it is with more than one satiric touch—does not engage the reader's sympathy for Sir Thomas, while at the same time it goes some way to explain why, despite his good intentions and real public ability, he is so shadowy a figure among the Irishmen prominent in his generation.

Wyse, though sprung from a family settled for centuries in Ireland, can scarcely be said to have had any genuine Irish sympathies. The English element in this Anglo-Irishman was always stronger than the Irish. Accordingly he was a supporter of the Union, a fact which helped to antagonise him to O'Connell, to whom for other reasons he was strongly antipathetic. In his very useful story of the Catholic Association he paid, it is true, a notable tribute to O'Connell's greatness as a national leader, but one thinks that his real feelings were more truly represented in his mean gloating over the fact that death prevented the Great Tribune from reaching Rome—" a righteous dispensation " he writes to his brother in a letter addressed from the India Office, in which very probably O'Connell had no inconsiderable share in placing him. The truth seems to be that men such as Wyse, conscious of possessing talents for public work, felt their style somewhat cramped by O'Connell's towering ascendancy over them all. This accounts for the mixture of gall with which they were prone to season their admiration—a fact which may be noted in others than Wyse, and very particularly in his contemporaries of the " Young Ireland " group.

As a public man Wyse's spiritual home was in the ranks of the English Liberals of his time. With the general tenor of their political views he was in close agreement, at any rate in the sphere of home affairs. He was, as a man who consciously ordered his life by high moral principles, sincerely desirous of social amelioration, and he worked hard to effect improvement. In education he thought was to be found the key to the progress he desired, and it is as a reformer of education that his biographer sees his claim to remembrance in history.

He certainly laboured for years with unflagging zeal in the cause of educational reform, but in this he was largely the child of his age. This was the period when education, or rather schooling, was in the air, when " the schoolmaster was abroad " : in England men such as Brougham and Roebuck were active propagandists for a national system of education, complete from the infant school to the university, and were unwearied in recommending their schemes of reform.

The circumstances of Ireland made some such action even more imperative there than in England ; and it is not surprising that Wyse, with his social outlook, should have been its eager advocate. Mr. Auchmuty claims for him that the government scheme for Irish National Education was of his begetting, and that it was taken without modification or

acknowledgment from a memorandum on the complete organisation of Irish education submitted by him to the Viceroy in 1830. So far as I am aware this claim has not been made before, though it was well known that his memorandum supplied a basis for the scheme, as was stated in a remarkably able pamphlet published on Irish education by William K. Sullivan in 1866. At any rate a Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1828, had recommended what is substantially the government plan of 1831 ; and even its recommendations were based on the findings of previous Commissions of Inquiry, so that it cannot be said that there was anything startlingly original in the Wyse memorandum so far as it dealt with popular education.

Mr. Auchmuty is an ardent supporter of Wyse's general views on education, for which he claims the approval of every enlightened man in the Ireland of the period. The opposition they evoked, especially in regard to those that concern University education, he dismisses as due in the main to the rancour of dishonest politicians such as O'Connell or to the bigotry of intransigeant " ultramontanes " such as Archbishop MacHale. To the latter indeed—who is for Mr. Auchmuty a veritable *bête noire*—is ascribed an influence which he never possessed, over the opinion not only of Ireland but of Rome itself. On the side of the new University he ranges as whole-hearted supporters such prelates as Archbishops Crotty and Murray without any hint that their support was limited and conditional, especially since both these prelates had been parties to the unanimous condemnation of the Colleges pronounced by the Episcopal body at a meeting of the Bishops held in Dublin only eleven days after the introduction of the government's proposals in the House of Commons. Wyse was, no doubt, as his biographer records, enthusiastic for the proposals, though they were not altogether in accord with his own proposal for provincial colleges. He goes on to state that his enthusiasm was shared by the Irish people—which was only very partially the case—and that the only opposition to them in Parliament came from " obedient Catholics and convinced Protestants "—the adjectival antithesis is somewhat significant.

There are some serious lacunae in the summarised version of the sequence of events leading to the ultimate ecclesiastical condemnation of the Queen's University as given in the book, and given with no other authority than that of the writer himself. The late Archbishop Walsh, in his book *The Irish University Question*, brings together some apposite expressions of lay and clerical opinions on the project which by no means square with Mr. Auchmuty's version—and one is disposed to regard him as an authority entitled to be heard with respect on this topic. It is to be regretted that Mr. Auchmuty does not seem to be acquainted with this book—at least it is not mentioned in the very formidable bibliographical addendum, which one may venture

to remark contains some entries that do not seem to be very germane to the career the volume discusses.

The story of the Queen's Colleges makes an interesting and instructive chapter in Irish education. Despite the opposition they encountered, they did very useful work—work that might have easily been rendered much more fruitful if more deference were paid to the opinions of those entitled to speak for the Irish people. Because the present writer agrees with Mr. Auchmuty that any claim Wyse has to be regarded as one whose public career was useful to the world must rest on his activities in the cause of education, he regrets that his chapter on this side of his life was not done with greater thoroughness and with a fuller understanding of the reasons for the opposition they evoked. W. J. W.

THE ENIGMA OF JAMES II. By Malcolm V. Hay. London: Sands. 1939. 8s. 6d. net.

In this book the author sketches the career of James II from the time when, as Duke of York, he was appointed by his brother Charles II to administer the affairs of Scotland (November 1679) to his final flight from England a betrayed and broken-hearted king (December 1688). With the earlier years of his life (he was born October 1633) he only deals incidentally, and on the closing period, between his exile and his death (September 1701), he does not touch at all.

Throughout, the character of James himself, the defence of his conduct and the refutation of the calumnies of his enemies are Mr. Hay's chief concern. With regard to this last he makes a clear and unanswerable case. Taking one by one the charges of bigotry, cruelty, stupidity, hypocrisy and the rest he proves them to be false—in fact the very reverse of the truth. Glancing back on the prince's early life, he shows him as a lad of under fifteen contriving and carrying out the ingenious plan by which he escaped from his parliamentary custodians. Later, while still in his early twenties, he served with such credit in the armies of both France and Spain as to win the commendations of the highest military authorities. On returning to England at the Restoration, he interested himself in naval affairs so successfully that he has been called by many the true founder of the modern English navy. So far from being either hypocritical or cruel, James rather erred by excessive sincerity and lenity. D'Avaux, in despatches sent to France during the Irish campaign, often blames the King for his failure to permit officers guilty of carelessness and disobedience or even absolute traitors to be properly punished.

That the writers of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries should have so calumniated the unfortunate monarch appears to our author an enigma. But, after all, do not politicians usually abuse

those who oppose their party and fanatics those who will not accept their creed? Gilbert Burnet and Macaulay were ardent Whigs and Robert Woodrow was a violent Scotch fanatic. Compilers like Scott and the writers of text-books for English schools, drawers up of biographical notices and others of that ilk simply repeat, probably in good faith, statements which they have read in more extensive works. Serious modern historians, such as Professor Trevelyn and Winston Churchill, are far more to blame, since they have the habit, the skill, the time and the means for research.

It is really not the posthumous calumnies with which James's memory has been assailed, but rather the circumstances of his downfall and especially the ease with which this was brought about, which seem to require explanation. True, the anti-popery spirit then prevalent in England and the dishonesty and selfishness of most of those who surrounded the King account for a good deal of what happened—but by no means for all. Some of the blame, or at least the responsibility, must rest on James himself.

It is not difficult to see in what his error, if error it can be called, consisted. James was a believer in "Divine Right," as had been his father and his grandfather before him. When, before the court which assumed the right to try him, Charles I was accused of abusing the powers given him by Parliament, he answered that these powers were not given him by Parliament, but were his by hereditary right. So most certainly would his son have met a similar accusation.

Considering himself therefore responsible only to God for the use which he made of his God-given authority, James held that he was justified in over-riding a man-made law when his intention in so doing was to attain an end which was good and just. Unfortunately for him such was not the view of the great majority of his subjects. Whether the Suspending Power (which, by issuing the Declaration of Indulgence, he in practice claimed) really belonged to the English Crown was a moot point which had been disputed for centuries. It can scarcely be doubted that it was in itself a dangerous weapon to place in a ruler's hands, and one which might well be employed to the detriment of the liberties of the people. It is not likely that James would have so used it. But he was not immortal, and who could tell what a successor—"particularly if a Papist," said the English Protestants—might do?

While saying this, we do not mean to impute any serious blame, any real moral fault to the King. His errors were the results of the principles which he held and carried out in all sincerity and simplicity. As a man, he loved what he held to be justice; as a fervent Catholic, he desired to remove the grievances of his co-religionists.

Such was the King as our author portrays him: simple, sincere, kindly, on the whole an attractive character—the King who fled from

England in 1688. But if we wish to pass judgment on James's character as a whole, we must take into account the closing period of his life to his death in September 1701 ; and assuredly the record of these years does not add to his fame.

The period when James lived in retirement at St. Germains was uneventful, but during his Irish campaign (March 1689 to July 1690) he comes into prominence once more. The dispatches which Count d'Avaux, who accompanied him to Ireland, sent constantly to his master Louis XIV give us a clearly defined picture of the exiled monarch. It is far from a flattering one. James is indolent. He " lives from day to day " and will not take measures in advance. He " mixes himself in everything and mixes in them to spoil them." " He will neither put matters in order himself nor allow others to do so." " He will not spend a pistole properly, but lets himself be cheated of thousands." He hates to hear complaints of persons or of things. He promises to make arrangements or to " think out a plan " and then does nothing. Now and then, however, a fine trait appears in the reports. James refuses to break a promise made to the Protestants, saying that a king must keep his word—" even if his kingdom were to be lost thereby." " I thought this a very silly remark " comments the unappreciative diplomatist.

D'Avaux left Ireland before the Battle of the Boyne ; but one can imagine how he would have commented on James's anxiety to guard his line of retreat—to secure which he withdrew some of his best regiments and most of his small number of cannon from the main centre of the Williamite attack—and on the precipitate flight which followed a defeat in which the Jacobite losses had been comparatively small. Whether Sarsfield actually said to the Williamite general after the capitulation at Limerick " Change Kings and we will fight you over again " is perhaps doubtful ; but that such a remark was attributed to him is sufficiently significant.

When James returned to the French Court—bringing, like " Johnnie Cope " of later fame, the news of his own defeat—he seems not to have been regarded with much approval. Louis XIV himself was probably too polite to say anything to further hurt the already lacerated feelings of his royal guest. But the Minister Louvois did not conceal his disgust at " the figure that he [James] had cut " (*le personnage qu'il a fait*). Madame de la Fayette remarked that the more one saw of the King of England, the less one pitied him for losing his kingdoms.

How is this to be explained ? How is the hopeless incompetent whom d'Avaux paints ; the cowardly fugitive who, after the defeat of the Boyne, thought only of his personal safety ; the pitiful exile whom the French courtiers despised—how is he to be reconciled with the brave resourceful boy of 1648 ; the lad whose military prowess

won the praise of the great Turenne ; the skilful organiser of England's sea-power ; the naval tactician of the Dutch wars ? Truly the question is not easy to answer ; but in history, as in private life, we find examples like this of persons promising in youth, able in mature manhood, whose faculties decay at a period of life much earlier than the biblically assigned " three score and ten." In some cases—certainly in that of James—this is to a great extent due to circumstances. There are those who rise above adversity and those who sink under it.

M. T. H.

Celtica

CONTRIBUTIONS TO A DICTIONARY OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE: M——arranged by Maud Joynt. Published by the Royal Irish Academy. Dublin : Hodges, Figgis and Co.; London : Williams and Norgate. 1939. 5s.

SOME six years ago the Royal Irish Academy issued the second fasciculus of their " Dictionary of the Irish Language based mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials," under the general editorship of Professor Osborn Bergin. Fasciculus II, containing the letter E, had for its particular editors Miss Maud Joynt and Miss Eleanor Knott. As part of a comprehensive and definitive dictionary of Old and Middle Irish, Fasciculus II attained a standard of excellence never before attained in Irish lexicographical work and rare in the lexicographical work of any country. To keep up such a standard would mean that many years must elapse before further fasciculi could appear. The Academy therefore decided that, pending the publication of the remaining fasciculi of the definitive Dictionary, the mass of material collected for the letters M, N, O, P, R, S, T, U, I, L, should be made immediately available for scholars and students in the form of " Contributions," which are not to be regarded as instalments of the final work.

The first instalment of these Contributions, containing the whole of the Academy collections for the letter M, " arranged " by Miss Maud Joynt, has just been published. It will be welcomed by scholars and students, all of whom may purchase it ; for though it contains 206 columns of 86 lines each, its price is only five shillings. In each article either all instances of the word treated of are cited in their context, or at least sufficient instances to illustrate all its meanings, forms and inflexions. Proper names are included. The value and magnitude of such an undertaking hardly need to be indicated. To speak sufficiently highly of the accuracy, industry and learning with which the undertaking has been carried out is difficult. To convince themselves of it readers need only to turn to the introductory article on the letter M itself, where Indogermanic, Latin, Welsh, and Irish of all periods are taken briefly, relevantly and learnedly into consideration. In that introductory

article the scholarly disposition of mind which underlies the whole work is well illustrated.

The very name and plan of the Contributions warn us, however, that they are not meant to be either as complete or as definitive as the Dictionary that will ultimately take their place. Moreover the Contributions are not being *edited*. They are merely being *arranged*. If the Academy's word-collections had been edited rather than arranged, even greater perfection might have been expected. To Stokes's explanation of the god-name Mac ind Óc, for instance, an editor (as distinct from an arranger of word-collections already made) would have added the more probable explanations given by Dr. Thurneysen on p. 598 of his *Heldensage* and by Dr. O'Rahilly on p. 37 f. of his *Goidels and Their Predecessors.*[1] An editor again would hardly have omitted some reference under the word *math*, ' a bear,' to Meillet's interesting suggestion that, if a genuine word, it is derived from the common *mathgamain* and that *mathgamain*, literally ' good calf,' is one of the euphemistic words discussed by him which primitive hunters, to whom direct mention of the animal hunted was taboo, used to employ to designate the bear.[2] Likewise the explanations of *méite* phrases listed under section *d* of the *méite* entry would almost certainly have been discarded by an editor in favour of the better explanation of the same phrases given by Dr. Bergin, *Ériu* X 190, where *is méite* is shown to have borne the meaning 'it is likely' and a connection with modern *ní móide* is suggested. Dr. Bergin's article is indeed referred to, but no alteration seems to have been made in the old dictionary-slips in the light of the new explanation. An editor would doubtless also have referred to Dr. Eleanor Knott's suggestion (Tadhg Dall, Pt. II, 328) that modern *mochóirghe* (used in Munster for ' earliness,' ' early rising,' and ' early riser ') is not to be derived from *moch* ' early ' and *éirghe* ' rising,'' but from *moch* and *áirghe* :[3] with such a formation (meaning ' early herd,' ' early milking-place,' or originally perhaps, as Dr. Knott suggests, ' early spancelling ') one might compare Modern *um eadradh*, meaning ' about eleven o'clock in the morning' (literally ' at milking-time '), and Old Irish *i mbuarach* ' this morning,' which Strachan and Dr. Bergin, in their glossary to *Stories from the Táin* (2nd ed., p. 72), derive from *bó*+*árach* ' the tying up of the cows for milking.'

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[1] Stokes's explanation as ' Son of the two Young Ones ' supposes that *in dá nÓc* could have been shortened to *ind Óc*. This is unlikely. For the explanation of *Mac ind* as a misunderstood ' Goedelic ' form of a " pre-Goedelic ' equivalent of the Gaulish god-name *Maponus* Professor O'Rahilly, on the other hand, has adduced converging etymological and mythological arguments.

[2] A. Meillet, " Quelques Interdictions de Vocabulaire dans les Langues indo-européennes," in his *Linguistique historique* (1921) 281-291.

[3] Both a noun *mocháirgi* and a verb *no mocháirgiged* (glossing *manicabat .i. mane veniebat*) are instanced in the Contributions.

Among small errors and omissions which readers might wish to see rectified, the following deserve mention: *mac eclaise* (col. 6, l. 74) is given as a head-word, though all examples cited have for *eclaise* the preferable genitive forms *ecalsa* or *ecailse*; to examples of the dative of *mebal* 'disgrace' it would have been advisable to add the Old Irish instance *ho mebuil* (Ml. 27 c 9); to the forms listed under *mebraid* and *mebraigid* 'learns' the future stems *meibhrébh-* and *meibhrégh-* should have been added (instanced in the text and variants of Father MacKenna's *Dán Dé*, xxv 76); *menaigte* cited as genitive singular of *ménagud* ' gaping, yawning ' should have been explained as an Old Irish third pl. relative form meaning ' who yawn.' Under *michair* 'kindly' the additional examples of the form *midchar* given by Dr. Knott (Tadhg Dall, Pt. II, p. 253, note on 16, §29) might have been cited. To *midach* 'a stallion ' should have been added *midachthech*, which glosses *stabulum* in the glosses from the British Museum MS. Harl. 1023 printed by Dr. Robin Flower in his *Catalogue*, p. 433, l. 4. *Saltair na Rann* examples of Middle Irish *mílid* (ll. 2092, 2701), for older *míl*, should have been included so as to date the new formation (the *Saltair* was written *c.* A.D. 987). Though *minúr* (representing ' Minor ' in ' Friars Minor ') is stated to be a substantive as well as an adjective, no example of substantival use is cited. The form *ma* for *mo* used in the Book of Fermoy (p. 163, col. i, ll. 4 and 16), and elsewhere, might have been mentioned under *mo* ' my.' Under *muir* ' sea,' *muirlán* has been given as a feminine compound; as substantival *lán* in such tide-phrases is masculine (*cf.* non-inflection in *cen lán mara*, Metr. Dind., ed. Dr. E. J. Gwynn, II, 58, 11), *lán* here must be the ordinary adjectival *lán* qualifying the feminine *muir*, and for *muirlán* we should read *muir lán*.

Fasciculus II of the Dictionary proper has proved that, had the Academy slips been edited rather than arranged, imperfections of the sort we have been considering would not have appeared. But, in view of the great importance of having accurately-excerpted word-lists immediately in the hands of investigators, users of the M-volume and its successors in the Contributions series will be grateful to their arrangers for having had the courage to resist the desire to produce perfect work after a long delay rather than good work in a short time. Comparatively few articles show signs of that incompleteness which is bound to exist where speed is essential, while almost every article gives proof of Miss Joynt's scholarly method of work and sound knowledge of the Irish language at all its literary stages. The longer articles are in a special way a monument to her lexicographical skill in classifying and arranging vast collections of examples so as to illustrate forms and meanings clearly.

In a foreword Miss Joynt thanks Dr. Myles Dillon for reading her typescript, helping in revision of proofs, and making " numerous

important corrections and useful suggestions." A word might perhaps have been said too of the industry of former workers who have helped to make the Academy's word-collections what they are. G. M.

ÉIGSE. A Journal of Irish Studies. Edited by Gerard Murphy. Vol. I., Part I. Published (with the aid of the Adam Boyd Simpson Bequest) for the National University of Ireland by Colm O'Lochlainn, at the Sign of the Three Candles, Fleet St., Dublin. Earrach 1939. 2s. a fhiacha.

This new venture in the field of modern Irish scholarship deserves the warmest welcome. It makes its bow under the happiest auspices. In the dim background is a certain Adam Boyd Simpson, whose generosity provides (it is to be hoped, adequately) the sinews of war. At the helm is Mr. Gerard Murphy, whose enterprise and enthusiasm are in keeping with his learning. Round him are grouped a number of capable young workers who require, if their intellectual powers are to reach full development, a journal in which to express themselves. Mature scholarship is represented by Torna and Professor Eamonn O Tuathail of the older generation; by Colm O Lochlainn, Professor Myles Dillon and the editor himself, men comparatively young in years but rich in wisdom and experience. It is obvious that in the new quarterly Irish is to be the language of predilection, yet not to the point of excluding English and thus warning off a large number of well-wishers whose knowledge of the native tongue would make them hesitate to purchase an all-Irish journal.

The contents of this first number are varied. Colm O Lochlainn contributes a poem by Tadhg Mac Dáire Mhic Bhruaideadha, composed probably within the years 1581-8. Its theme is sorrowful. Some of the poet's patrons of the O'Connor Sligo and the De Burgo families have recently died; others are beyond his reach or inclined to treat him with coldness. A "wave of depression" is lapping the Irish shore and the days of bardic prosperity are numbered.

"An Arran Folktale" (why the *rr*, which belong neither to the Irish nor to the English spelling?) of the Fenian tradition is published by Professor Myles Dillon. It was recorded by dictaphone from a *seanchaidhe* on Inis Airther in 1932. Professor Dillon gives a phonetic description of three paragraphs and in general presents the story in a manner which makes clear the chief features of this dialect. As the Aran Islands for centuries were regarded as part of Munster and as geography, at any rate, made them a borderland between Munster and Connacht, the peculiarities of pronunciation are most interesting.

Aisling poetry is often regarded as a phenomenon of the modern language. Mr. Murphy, in a very fine study of its literary history, traces its origin back to the eighth century. His conclusion is that the

fairy love-aisling and the prophecy-aisling are of native growth, while the eighteenth-century allegorical aisling of political prophecy is of foreign inspiration. As prototype for the aisling of Eoghan Ruadh and his fellows he quotes a *Sompnium* written by a Paris student in the late thirteenth century. This leads to a valuable discussion on the extent to which what may be termed non-professional poetry had a place in mediaeval Ireland.

One of the Phillipps manuscripts recently acquired by the National Library is a *Duanaire* or collection of poems on the O'Donnell family. A catalogue of the contents has been made by Mr. Tomás O Cléirigh with his usual accuracy. The first section of this work is here published.

Two modern "lamentations" are edited by Mr. Murphy and Mr. R. Breathnach. One deals with a member of the McCarthy family and was taken down from a *sgéaluidhe* at Ballyvourney, Co. Cork. The other recalls those amazing abduction incidents which were common in the eighteenth century. Unusual features in the present case (from the Slieveardagh district of Tipperary) are that the man responsible was offered a pardon if he married the girl (he preferred to face the gallows), and that King George III granted a reprieve, which arrived a day or so too late. The *caoine* is said to have been composed by the prisoner while awaiting execution in Kilkenny Gaol. Despite its morbid nature, it became a popular ballad throughout a large countryside. Mr. Breathnach does the difficult work of editing with great care.

The explanation of many uncommon words and phrases—a miniature Cormac's Glossary—is offered by Prof. Éamonn O Tuathail.

All but two of the book reviews are in Irish. The writers are Torna, Mr. Murphy, Mr. O Duígeannáin, Mr. Seán O Súilleabháin, Miss Áine Ní Chróinín and Miss Nessa Ní Shéaghdha. Mr. Murphy's review of Fr. Lambert McKenna's "Dioghluim Dána" is in itself a useful essay; and the other reviews without exception are pieces of serious work.

If *Éigse* fulfils the promise given by this first number (and there is every reason why it should), its place in the revival of the Irish language should be most honourable. J. R.

STAIR NA nDEISE, .i. Déise Mumhan, Dúthaigh Déaglán, ó thosach go dtí A.D. 1168. Art Mac Gréagóir do chuir le chéile. Áth Cliath. Oifig Díolta Foillseacháin Rialtais. 1938. 2s. 6d.

LEABHRÁN deas, deagh-chúmtha, deagh-sgríobhtha, léigheanta iseadh an leabhrán so. Tá gach cunntas ar sean-stair na nDéise le fagháil ann: ar dhúthaigh na nDéiseach i ndeisceart Mhumhan ó Ré na h-Oighre anuas, agus ar na Déiseachaibh féin ón lá is sia siar 'na bhfuil a rian le breathnughadh ins na sgéaltaibh. Ceapadh, tráth, tar éis pluaise Cille Gráinne a rómhar do lucht sean-dálaidheachta ó Bhristol sa bhliadhain 1928 gur sa ndúthaigh chéadna a mhair an

chéad dream daoine riamh i n-Éirinn go bhfuil eólas 'na dtaoibh againn, dream a bhain le Ré na Garbh-chloiche, acht tar éis na ceiste a chíoradh go tiugh sa bhliadhain 1934 dob í breith na Meiriocánach n-oilte ó Iolsgoil Haruard nárbh inchreidte é cruthughadh an aos' léighinn ó Shasana.

Cérbh dhíobh iad na Déisigh féin ? An raibh a n-ionadh bunaidh i ndeisceart na h-Éireann, nó an amhlaidh díbreadh as Magh Bhreagh iad sa tríomhadh chéad d'aois an Tighearna, fé mar innistear i bhfinnsgéal na Litridheachta ? Ní foláir nó tá bun na fírinne sa sgéal chéadna. Is léir, pé ar domhan é, go raibh stát fé leith ag na Déiseachaibh i ndeisceart Mhumhan timcheall na bliadhna A.D. 400. Bhí dlúthbhaint acu le ríghthibh Caisil de phór na n-Eóganacht sa chogadh mhór a bhí ar siubhal le fada i gcoinne na n-Osraigheach, cogadh go bhfuair na Déisigh an-chuid talmhan d'á bhárr.

Ní deircann Art Mac Gréagóir mórán mar gheall ar an ndream san na nDéiseach dárbh ainm " An Déis Bheag," a bhí 'na gcomhnuidhe i n-oirthear Luimnighe. Carn Fearadaigh an príomh-dún a bhí acusan sa tsean-aimsir. Rinneadar fogha fé na Connachtaibh ar an dtaoibh thuaidh de'n tSionainn agus chuireadar fútha sa ndúthaigh chéadna, sa chríoch d'á ngoirthear Conndae an Chláir indiu. " An Déis Tuaiscirt " a bhí mar ainm ar an ndream san ins na h-Annálaibh, agus " An Déis Deiscirt " ar a gcóimh-dhream i gConndae Luimnighe, i mBrúgh na nDéise, Áth na nDéise, agus mar sin de. Aon ríoghacht amháin nó mion-stát fé leith a bhí ag an dá dream go dtí gur chuir na Geinte cathair Luimnighe ar bun sa naomhadh aois. Tháinig athrughadh ainme ar an ndream thuaidh i rith na h-aoise sin .i. " Dál gCais " i n-ionadh " An Déis Bheag," agus lean an nua-ainm ortha de ghnáth ó shoin i leith.

Ní déarfainn, ar ndóigh, fé mar adeireann Art, nár ghéill Déise Mumhan in-aon-tslighe riamh (isteach agus amach le ceithre chéad bliadhan) do ríghthibh na n-Eóganacht. Acht má ghéill féin, bhí a righthe agus a riaghaltas dúthchais acu san am chéadna agus níorbh shuarach le rádh é a gcuid i gcúrsaíbh poilitidheachta na Mumhan (fé mar thaisbeánann Art go fial, fairsing ar fuid an leabhair) ó thosach Ré na Críostaidheachta go dtí feall ghránda Dhiarmada na nGall.

Tráchtann Art go breágh, ciallmhar, leis, ar gníomharthaibh muintire na nDéise i gcoitcheannta i gcúrsaíbh deagh-bhéas, saoitheamhlacht agus eile, gan na droich-bhearta agus na lochtaí i gcúrsaíbh an stáit a chlúdughadh. Tá caibidil taithneamhach le léigheamh, freisin, ar rian na sean-aimsire ins na Déisibh : croimleaca agus dalláin, clocha oghaim, liosanna, folachtaí fiadh, scan-bhóithre, órnáidí agus mar sin de.

Budh dheachair a mholadh mar is cóir an méid a sgríobhann Art

ar chúrsaíbh na h-Eaglaise ins na Déisibh ó aimsir Phádraig anuas. Gach naomh-fhear agus naomh-bhean riamh a chaith a saoghal i seirbís Dé agus an chomharsan agus go raibh a gclú a's a gcáil 'á luadh n-a ndiaidh, tá trácht thar bárr ortha sa leabhar so. Mainistear oirdhearc ab eadh Lios Mór, ní h-amháin sa tseachtmhadh aois—Ré an Óir i stair na h-Éireann—acht sa dara aois déag cómh maith, i n-aimsir an naoimh-easbuig, Maolmhaodhóg Ua Morgáir.

I n-earball an tráchtais tábhachtaigh tá tagairt iomlán do leabhraibh agus ugdarás staire le roinnt neithe n-achrannach nárbh féidir a bpléidhe i rith an sgéil. Ta snas agus slacht ar an nGaodhluinn, leis, i dtreó go bhfuil an saoghal Fodlach ar fad fé chomaoin mhóir ag Art Mac Gréagóir. E. O. R.

Classics

THE POETRY OF HOMER. By Samuel Eliot Bassett. University of California and Cambridge University Presses. 1938. 12s. 6d. net.

ONCE again we are given the melancholy present of a posthumous volume of Sather Classical Lectures. In this case the lectures were not even delivered, their author having died suddenly in his study not long after the completion of his manuscript and only a few days before he was to have gone to California. Professor Bassett of Vermont was an original and industrious Homeric scholar, and his book is a worthy sequel to the classic vindication of the unity of the poems by Professor J. A. Scott, with which this valuable series opened in 1921. Starting from the conclusions reached by his predecessor, which in the nature of the case were mainly destructive of previous Higher Criticism and its methods, Professor Bassett undertakes a task long neglected by reason of false principles and aims—the task of investigating and bringing to light in a constructive study the qualities and characteristics of Homer as a unique, personal maker of poetry.

During the past twenty years the tide has set more strongly than ever against the Homeric pseudo-criticism of the nineteenth century. Scholars like Bowra in England, Nilsson in Sweden, and Schadewaldt in Germany, have in their several ways written of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* no longer as accidental conglomerations of lays or as shorter poems tacked unskilfully together by some luckless hack, but as the well-articulated products of a single great mind. One curious result of this return to saner methods has been the discovery of a whole series of facts and laws hitherto neglected. Professor Bassett's treatment of the poems is the most strictly literary so far, and should have a great interest for students of literature in general as well as for Greek scholars.

His first chapter deals with the personality, purpose and traditional technique of the poet. By means of an analogy with Plato he skilfully shows that the assumption of a single author has the balance of probability in its favour. Next he argues from the poems themselves that Homer's unique purpose was "to make imaginary experience real." In the third place he deals with the interesting researches of the late Milman Parry into Homer's use of traditional formulae. Parry laid bare a mass of valuable facts, but drew the wrong conclusion from them; the true conclusion being that the poems were composed, not like modern books, for reading, but for oral recitation. The second and third lectures are entitled "the Epic Illusion," and deal with Homer's methods for inducing his audiences to belief in the reality of his characters, in the vitality of his action, the progression and movement of the events he is describing; his use of direct and indirect speech, his dramatic quality, and the detailed characterisation of his heroes. The fourth lecture discusses what Professor Bassett calls "the breaking of the Epic Illusion" by the intrusion of the poet's own personality as narrator, by the use of digression, simile, and the long descriptions such as that of the Shield.

The next subject to be discussed is the relation between the poet and his audience, his arrangement of his thought so as to economise attention, his employment of the so-called "chiastic order" in narration, of his various devices, such as a kind of Sophoclean irony, for conveying to his listener facts unknown to his characters, thus obviating the necessity for long explanatory digressions. From this we pass to his more purely poetical technique, his metre, use of the caesura and *enjambement*, his methods of securing clarity, fluidity, variety, and his contrasted resort to similes and narrative respectively. In the last two lectures we have a thorough treatment of Homer as "poetic demiurge," his attributes as creator of plot and character, and finally his heroic ideal. Perhaps the most valuable section in a book packed with interest is the discussion in the last chapter of Achilles as Hero, which constitutes a defence of the tragic young warrior as against the frequent preference on the reader's part for his victim, Hector. Here we touch upon the real centre of the *Iliad*, and are made to realise most fully Homer's supremacy as the first tragic poet.

A brief review of such a book as this must perforce be mostly catalogue. It is impossible to do more than hint at the wealth of detailed illustration, the apt comparisons, the happy, original, and striking generalisations that meet us on almost every page. Professor Bassett has surely crowned his life's work with a book to treasure, a storehouse of criticism to which its owner will return again and again for fresh enjoyment and illumination. M. T.

Economics and Sociology

HITLER'S MAGICIAN : SCHACHT. By Norbert Mühlen. London : Routledge. 1939. 10s. 6d.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF GERMANY FROM WILLIAM II TO HITLER. By W. F. Bruck. Cardiff : University Press. 1938. 12s. 6d.

THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY OF GERMANY. By C. W. Guillebaud. London : Macmillan. 1939. 10s. 6d.

THESE three books are of the highest interest and of the highest importance to statesmen, economists and sociologists. Moreover, they will give the general reader, if he is patient and stout-hearted, a great deal of enlightening information about economic laws and their violation in general and about Germany's rather successful violations of them in particular. But all three are hard reading, and the authors have not been at much pains to make an intrinsically difficult subject easy for the average layman. There was a time when it used to be said, about a very different sphere of learning, *Germania docet.* And certainly it can be fully admitted that since the Great War Germany has been teaching the world—if not by precept, at least by example—a great deal about economic and monetary problems.

These three books are, each in its own way and in its own sphere, a preliminary effort to put some systematic order in the various lessons that Germany has taught us. Together with Bresciani-Turoni's book on the inflation (another appallingly difficult book to read), they form a sort of Novum Organon of economics. They confirm many of the old accepted teachings of economists ; and I do not know that they have proved the falsity or absurdity of any of the recognised and established principles or doctrines of economic science. But they undoubtedly do suggest new lines of investigation, modifications of certain theories, and the possibility of some new hypotheses which may lead economists to fresh and fruitful conclusions.

On January 21, 1939, *The Times*, under the title "Exit Dr. Schacht," wrote : "His success in financing the vast reconstruction and rearmament of the past four years, without any marked increase in the cost of living, is universally regarded as an amazing, almost an incredible, *tour de force.* It has not been accomplished, however, without resort to methods which were distasteful to him and which he only adopted with reluctance. . . . Not until Herr Funk has had time to make his influence felt in his new post will it be possible to estimate the full significance of the change. To put it at its lowest, it seems a victory for the advocates of credit expansion and of the complete regimentation of trade and industry over the more conservative tendencies represented by Dr. Schacht." Herr Mühlen's book, therefore, comes at an opportune moment : an historic period has been

closed, and an account of the life of the chief figure in that period is welcome. His last paragraph, published before Schacht's dismissal, reads : " The financier of hegemony, the hero of this book, Dr. Schacht is now a solitary figure at his desk in the Reichsbank, entirely in the background of this brilliant period. People returning from Berlin say that his old cynical wit and his social form have greatly suffered ; to-day Schacht is a tired, resigned man." This was written in October, 1938, just after Hitler's Munich triumph and the Czechoslovak *affaire*. Two months later Hitler " dropped the pilot."

Herr Mühlen does not like Dr. Schacht, and he allows this dislike to influence and stain almost every page of his book. The result is that his book is very unsatisfying : it leaves the reader in a state of hesitation and doubt, not knowing how much to discount, how much to believe, what weight to give this or that statement of fact or opinion.

We are given a short sketch of Schacht's life from his birth in 1877, the son of a Danish returned emigrant, to 1938. Then comes a detailed —and at times confusing—account of the " Debt Dictator of the Third Reich " dealing with the " defeat of the capital lenders " and the " rule of the commercial War-Lord." The final section of the book is entitled " On the edge of the Magic Circle," and is the story (according to Herr Mühlen) of the " dictator under the dictatorship " and the results. Naturally, the book is chockful of figures and " plans " and various kinds of German marks. But it is not too technical nor too full of jargon. It is somewhat confusing ; but that arises, one suspects, either from a lack of full knowledge on the part of Herr Mühlen or from his prejudiced ordering of the narrative or, more likely, from both.

" How much has the debt dictator of the Third Reich won against the world ? How much has he gained in credits surreptitiously acquired by buying goods and not paying for them ; how much interest has he left unpaid through his dictatorial transfer movatoriums and through the standstill agreements ? Finally, how much of capital indebtedness has he definitely cancelled without repaying a single pfennig ? And what use has he made of these winnings—what economic use for his own nation and for the world ? "

These are the questions which Herr Mühlen asks himself at the end of his book. He answers them in some detail, but sums up his views in a few sentences. " In four years Schacht has taken from the world some 18 milliard marks. The loss he has inflicted on the world is even greater than this . . . For it was with the money of which the debt dictator of the Third Reich has deprived the world that he secured the means of throwing the world trade into confusion. Almost every million he extorted from the creditors was the cause of the loss of further millions to the world." According to Mühlen, the total German Reparations Payments actually delivered came to 10,000,000,000 marks.

"The reparations exacted from the world by the Nationalist Socialist debt dictator, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, in the first four years of the Third Reich, already exceeded that total by four-fifths."

Dr. Bruck's volume, which is a very different type of book from Herr Mühlen's, covers the social and economic history of Germany during the last fifty years, 1888 to 1938—that is, practically from the beginning of William II's reign up to the present day. I find it difficult to speak in terms of measured praise of this book: it is an excellent book, a most creditable piece of scholarship in a none too easy realm. Undoubtedly it is not a popular book nor popularly conceived or written. It is a serious, difficult, possibly heavy, volume of three hundred closely printed (too closely printed) pages. It is obviously meant primarily for the professional economist, secondarily for the student, and only very much thirdly for the general reader.

The book commences with a valuable first chapter, done in the best traditions of German scholarship, on the nature and task of economic history and the forces and ideas that went to prepare and continued to influence the period under consideration, 1888-1938. "When Bismarck was dismissed," writes Dr. Bruck, "capitalism [in Germany] had already passed its youth. . . . Trade and industry tended to approach the level reached by the older countries, who resented the growing powers of this new competitor, whom they regarded as an upstart, elbowing her way into the economic field. All that could be done to cripple the child and prevent her from becoming dangerous had been done. . . ."

And so we are led on to consider, in the second chapter, the era of William II in peace and in war. It is hard to say in which of these two spheres, peace or war, the genius, industry, perseverance and courage of the German people and their rulers showed to better advantage. Dr. Bruck gives us a full account of the growth of large-scale industry, the relations of finance capitalism to industrial development, the commercial and colonial policy under William II, and the social policy and legislation.

A third chapter deals with the Weimar Reich, 1918-1933, a period of terrible suffering and strain due to the injustices and ineptitudes of the Versailles Treaty—but a period, too, of intense interest and utility to the economist-pathologist. Such vivisection of a nation should never have been allowed to take place; but once it has happened, it is legitimate to try to learn something from it for the benefit of humanity.

The last chapter deals, in an admirably cool and scientific humour, with the Third Reich, Hitler's Germany. It reads as if it were written in a deliberately guarded way, but it does give some idea of what is happening and some shrewd and convincing appreciation, as well as criticism, of certain aspects of the policy.

Mr. Guillebaud's book deals in greater detail with the period 1933 to March 1938 to which Dr. Bruck's last chapter was devoted. He begins with a short history of the period 1923 to 1933, that is from the stabilisation of the mark to the rise of Hitler. Then he gives a full account of the first Four Year Plan, 1933 to September 1936. This is followed by an account of the second Four Year Plan up to 1938. Then comes a very valuable chapter on prices, wages and the standard of living. "In conclusion, it is incontrovertible that the standard of living as a whole, taking into account employed as well as unemployed, has risen very materially since 1932 . . . No one who is acquainted with German conditions would suggest that the standard of living is a high one, but the important thing is that it has been rising in recent years."

There is a chapter dealing with the basic features of the National Socialist economic system. The final chapter, which is one of the most interesting, especially when read in conjunction with J. M. Keynes's recent work, gives an account of Germany in full employment, of the allocation of resources, labour, capital and raw materials between competing industries, of the maintenance of wages and prices and the problem of economic freedom. The whole book, as might have been expected from the author of the *Works' Council*, is finely planned and finely executed; it is also finely written, printed and produced. And Mr. Guillebaud is faithful to his motto, "Je ne propose rien, je n'impose rien, j'expose." E. J. C.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. I.L.O. Year-Book. 1937–8. Geneva. 10s. 6d. pp. 650.

In view of the rapid progress of the social services in the modern world it is important that students should possess accurate and up-to-date information of the legislation and practice of every country. Such information can be collected only by an international organization, equipped like the I.L.O. and in touch with the leading employers' and workers' organizations. The Year-Book, which is published annually by the I.L.O., is precisely the type of publication required, setting forth, as it does lucidly and authoritatively, the most important events, from the industrial and labour aspect, that have occurred throughout the world during the period under review. The present volume, which is the eighth of its kind, consists of a General Introduction and eight Chapters to which is added an Appendix. The General Introduction deals with the activities of the I.L.O. itself during the year, and contains a very interesting account of Catholic social action in many countries, among which Ireland is not mentioned. The Appendix contains many valuable international statistics not available elsewhere.

The subjects dealt with in the body of the book are those generally

described as social questions. Chapters are devoted to conditions of work, social insurance, remuneration of labour, employment and unemployment, migration and workers' rights. Ireland is mentioned several times in these chapters and is clearly among the more liberal and progressive nations so far as social services are concerned. The picture of the Irish agricultural worker is however not so satisfactory, as it is stated that " wage rates remain very low and are much below the level of 1929." The welfare of the workers in every country is, of course, intimately connected with the general conditions of economic prosperity, and the authors of the Year-Book have, very properly, placed in the forefront of the book a chapter dealing with the main changes which occurred during the year in the world economic situation.

This chapter contains certain passages of such importance and relevance to Irish conditions that they deserve extensive quotation. " Looked at primarily from the point of view of its social consequences, the course of economic development during 1937 is notable in that it emphasizes two important points : the enormous value of international trade to the smaller and to the less affluent countries ; and the responsibility devolving upon the great industrial countries to maintain a high level of economic activity . . . The essential importance of international trade lies not only in the fact that it increases prosperity but that it helps to raise the standard of living in countries which would otherwise be condemned to remain at an exceedingly low level . . . International trade is not simply an instrument of economic amelioration but also to some extent of social justice." In other words, abundant production must precede equitable distribution. The standard of living in a country of a narrow range of natural resources depends upon a high level of imports, which, in its turn, depends upon a high level of exports. The only successful method of increasing the welfare of the working classes and of providing advanced social services is by encouraging the efficient production of a large volume of exports. Attempts to introduce social legislation in advance of a country's productive possibilities have failed in France and the United States, and are doomed to failure elsewhere. That is one of the conclusions of the Banking Commission with which the I.L.O. is obviously in unqualified agreement. G. O'B.

THE MINIMUM WAGE. An International Survey. Geneva : I.L.O. 1939. 5s.

So many countries have accepted the principle of fixing minimum wages by law that an international survey of existing legislation cannot fail to be useful to students of labour problems. The International Labour Office is preparing such a survey, the first volume of which has now been published. This volume contains a series of monographs analysing

the experience in minimum wage legislation of nine countries, namely, Australia, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Great Britain, Ireland, New Zealand, Peru and the U.S.A. Each monograph contains a full description of the legislation and its application, some discussion of the major problems encountered in the practical administration of the law, and ample references for further reading. The chapter dealing with Ireland is the shortest in the book, but it is nevertheless adequate as, except for the Agricultural Wages Act, 1936, no legislation bearing directly on the subject has been passed since the Treaty. G. O'B.

POISON AND BALM. By Stephen J. Brown, S.J. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1938. 5s.

COMMUNISM QUESTIONED AND ANSWERED. By R. M. Dowdall, O.P. Dublin: Irish Rosary Office. 1938. 1s. 6d.

COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANS. By Various Writers. London: Sands. 1938. 7s. 6d.

WHAT IS COMMUNISM? By Rev. E. Delaye, S.J. London: Herder. 1938. 8s. 6d.

CATHOLICISME ET COMMUNISME. Par R. P. Rambaud. O.P. Avignon: Aubanel. 1938. 9.60 frs.

THESE are but five of the many books recently published on Communism by Catholics. They range from the careful scientific analysis and discussion of Communism to the more or less highly-coloured emotional appeal of the pulpit orator. Midway between these two extremes comes Fr. Dowdall's excellent book in the form of question and answer. May I draw attention to its price and to its beautifully clear type? It is as long as most of the others and certainly as sound, as useful and as well-written—and yet it is sold at 1s. 6d. We cannot meet Communistic propaganda, published at ridiculously low prices, by setting such values as 8s. 6d., 7s. 6d. and 5s. on what should be published in twopenny pamphlet form. Any of the books mentioned at the head of this review could have been and ought to have been produced in a form that could be sold at 6d. or 1s. They would then have been read and would have done their work. As it is, I doubt if fifty copies of the three expensive English books will be read by any other than the orthodox or "converted"; and I doubt still more strongly if a single one of these three will have a life of five years. Fr. Dowdall is to be congratulated on having made the spread of the truth the dominant consideration in deciding on the form of his book. It is an example that ought to be followed. It is a pity to give any ground for suspicion that writing on the social question is something of a "racket," where one gets a chance of "cashing in" on one's orthodoxy. Such tactics are best left to left book clubs and the like.

As a matter of fact, Fr. Dowdall's book is perhaps the most useful

as well as being the least costly of these books. It is an admirably conceived and executed plan ; an excellent text-book for study-clubs and an invaluable stand-by for lecturers and preachers. The questions which Fr. Dowdall poses are always short, clear, pertinent : his answers, like St. Thomas's in the *Summa*, are not always short, but they are concise and yet full and satisfying. It is by no means an easy form of literary art, this question and answer : as hard, perhaps, to do well as a Platonic dialogue. But Fr. Dowdall has achieved a very high degree of success.

Fr. Brown's book consists of lectures delivered in Gardiner Street, Dublin in 1937. He has added a useful list of books on Communism and an appendix on certain trials and purges that have taken place in Russia. The lectures deal with such subjects as the Human Person, the Home, Religion, the Church, the Workers and the Poor. The book is full of useful information concerning Communism and Bolshevism, with copious references to and quotations from a host of writers. Indeed, one wonders if the author has not tried to crowd too much into his lectures, with the result that too great a demand is made on the ordinary reader. However, the book is a valuable storehouse which less learned and less widely-read lecturers may pillage at their need.

Communism and Christians is, according to itself, " a collective work, which considers from a Christian standpoint the problems raised by Communism." It is a translation from the French, and its authors are all distinguished French writers, though not all Catholics. Personally, I have found this book the most stimulating of the five whose titles appear at the head of this review ; and of the six very varied essays in the book, I should single out Père Ducattillon's, O.P., long analysis as one of the few really first-rate pieces of Catholic writing on Communism. He himself says, and his translator underlines it : " Communism has too often been refuted by controversialists who did not know what it meant. Is it surprising then that such refutations should be ineffective ? Such a method of procedure merely compromises the cause which it professes to defend, and truth must surely be the first consideration. ' Let them learn what the religion they are attacking is before they begin to attack it,' Pascal exclaimed, and what Pascal said of religion is no less true of Communism. Christianity ought not to be, and cannot be, defended but with weapons above reproach." Père Ducattillon certainly lives up to his own high standard, and in this is an example that might be imitated by certain English-speaking apologists and periodicals.

Yet another book by a Dominican is *Catholicisme et Communisme*, and although it is not likely to have a large circulation in these countries, I should like to greet it with a word of praise and gratitude. It displays another side of Dominican versatility, the power of preaching attractively on an unpromising subject.

Fr. Delaye's book is already too well known in its French edition, *Pour connaître le communisme*, to need many words to recommend this English translation. I should put it alongside two other books to make up an absolutely essential trilogy for anyone who would follow Père Ducattillon's advice: the other two are Gurian's and Sheed's. I need say no more in appreciation of it. I think I should be inclined to forbid the writing of any other books on this subject till these three were mastered by all Catholic readers and, above all, by all Catholic writers. They are a little library in themselves; and any library that possesses them can afford to do without most other books on their subject. E. J. C.

Education

SECONDARY EDUCATION. With special reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools. Report of the Consultative Committee, Board of Education, England. London: H.M. Stationery Office. 1938. Pp. xxxviii, 477. 3s. 6d. net.

The close of 1938 saw the appearance of the Report of the 'Spens Committee' which, under the chairmanship of the recent Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, had worked during the years 1933-1938 at a public Report that has proved to be of a very definitely useful and even of a permanently valuable character. It has fortunately been given a unity of aim and form which is not easily attainable by investigators of modern school-types in Great Britain. By being practically limited to pupils whose general studies terminate at about sixteen years of age, it is much served as to definiteness of scope in view of the presence of the 'English Public Schools,' with their really unique working conditions, financial and other. At the same time, the assigned upper age limit brings it into line with a main tradition, that dividing layer within the historic 'Seven Liberal Arts,' which attained complete international actuality in the schools of Latin culture over Europe down to, and even beyond, the Revolutionary Epoch in Europe, 1790-1815. That partition of types of general culture remains to-day fully active in the secondary education of such modern States as France, Spain, Poland, Germany. The results of the Spens Report, it is understood, may not be given effect in the public order in the near future. But beyond doubt this elaborated consideration of all the main factors towards the realisation of a really popular and national system of modern secondary studies in England will be of permanent service to all students of education in universities.

Several elements felicitously contribute to this valuable and pervasive aspect of the Report. It is, in the first place, strongly yet succinctly historical. That characteristic, again, is by no means merely English; it is also soundly and most representatively European. The

welding of these correlated elements is very evident not only in the opening fourscore pages on English Educational Systems, or parts of systems, but even more decisively in the Note (Appendix II, pages 403-414) contributed by the Spens Committee Secretary, Dr. R. Fitzgibbon Young, 'on the historical development of the Concept of a General Liberal Education.' In that concise survey excellent use is made of the most recent sources drawn from many lands, including even H. I. Marrou's masterly exposition of the cultural epoch of St. Augustine (Paris, 1938). Not less notable are several excellent summaries by internationally known experts in administration and psychology—Dr. Kandel, Dr. Burt, Dr. Hamley. It is thus assured that, even beyond England, this well-organised and unified Report of the Spens Committee will be of signal service to educators in many lands. T. C.

INTRODUCTORY CHILD PSYCHOLOGY. By William A. Kelly and Margaret R. Kelly. Milwaukee: Bruce. 1938. $2.75.

THIS book is intended for the guidance and instruction of all who have to do with the up-bringing of children—parents, teachers, priests, and social workers generally. It deals with all the problems that arise in connection with the mental, moral, and physical life of the child, and it may be stated that it is likely to be found very useful by those for whom it is written. The writers are well acquainted with the most recent literature on their subject.

While the book is thoroughly scientific in its matter, it is important to note that it is specially designed to meet the needs of Catholic education. The Catholic way in education is the oldest in the world. It has stood the test of time, and here one is shown that this way is in full accord with anything of real value to be found in the records of the best scientific investigations into the nature of the child and the methods it is advisable to follow in dealing with the many problems it presents. The great Catholic educators of the past did their work, it is true, without the guidance of such books, and of course one cannot claim that they can make great educators. Since, however, the training of the modern teacher calls for such preparatory study, it is well that we should have for our Catholic teachers a text-book that is at once abreast of the most recent science and in complete harmony with Catholic philosophy. W. J. W.

History

THE DIOCESE OF LIMERICK. From 1691 to the Present Time. By John Archdeacon Begley, P.P., V.G., M.R.I.A. Vol. III. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1938. Pp. 561. 21s. net.

WITH the publication of this book Venerable Archdeacon Begley brings his work on the diocese of Limerick to a triumphant close. The history

is now complete; and the three magnificent volumes, a *monumentum aere perennius*, will preserve for generations the lustre of their author's name. As in every case where something memorable has been achieved, the chief element in success has been the character of the agent. In the present instance high qualities which meet the eye are energy, industry, determination in the face of difficulties, thoroughness and honesty in the handling of sources, a breadth of vision which can see and welcome good in opponents and enemies, an insistence on principle which condemns and scorns evil, by whomsoever committed, a personal point of view and a manly, clear-cut judgment without which history may, indeed, be written, but only to be left unread. The diocese of Limerick is fortunate in its historian.

As a necessary preliminary the political background in the country during the whole period is sketched. William and Mary signed the Treaty of Limerick in April, 1692. Before the end of that year its terms were violated by the English Parliament. They were likewise rejected with contempt by the Irish Colonial Parliament sitting at Chichester House. Within the next year, 1693, the Penal Laws had begun to operate, and they were to go on increasing in number and severity until, under Anne as Queen and Ormonde as Lord Lieutenant, the climax of brutality was reached. During this period part of Limerick was planted with German Lutherans from the Palatinate. Persecution in a rabid form lasted down to 1740 or later. Priests and schoolmasters were the ordinary criminals tried at the Assizes. Executions and transportations were matters of daily occurrence. In 1726 Father Timothy Ryan, a priest of the diocese, was executed on Gallows Green for his official part in the marriage of a Catholic to a Protestant. In 1736 Dr. O'Keeffe, the Bishop, sends his decision in a canonical case "from a place of refuge." The mass-rock was then in common use. Many of the old Irish families were completely ruined. Others saved their lands and their social status by conforming to the Protestant creed. One or two adventurers of native stock, abandoning faith and fatherland, rose to ignoble eminence in the new ascendancy class. Innumerable scions of the old Irish families found fame and fortune in the armies of Continental sovereigns.

By 1750 the tension had begun to relax, though Catholics who had retained some property were still subjected to annoyance or worse. In 1770 Dr. Curry inaugurated a movement for the repeal of the Penal Laws, whose sting was then dead, though half a century was to elapse before their withdrawal was finally accomplished.

On the social side Archdeacon Begley has much that is interesting to narrate. In mediaeval times a large part of Limerick had been parcelled out in Norman manors. In East Limerick the Cromwellian Settlement had brought many newcomers, but in West Limerick the

old population had been left substantially undisturbed. In the eighteenth century high rents and tithes, added to the Penal Laws, contributed enormously to the farmers' servitude. That discontent was not due to religious causes only is proved by the fact that the Whiteboys (who appear about 1760) were organised and led mostly by Protestant young men. The Government's reply to every complaint was a new Coercion Act and bigger and better gallows. During the Napoleonic Wars rents in the County Limerick rose to the Napoleonic figures of £4 to £10 an acre. The farmers lived on potatoes and sold all their remaining produce to pay huge incomes to the Cromwellian landlords. After 1815 prices steadily fell, while the rents remained fantastically high, with the result that poverty became intolerable and civil disturbance endemic. And then came the Famine and the emigrant ship.

On the personal side the interest of this volume is inexhaustible. How did the Fitzmaurice family rise to power in the South ? By what means did the Knights of Glin succeed in retaining their estates ? From what part of Limerick county did Peter the Great's Field-Marshal, Pierce de Lacy, spring ? How did Thady Quin, the son of a Limerick farmer, put his descendants on the road to wealth and an earldom ? What were the antecedents of the " spoilt priest," John Fitzgibbon, father of the notorious Lord Clare ? What was the name of the Colleen Bawn and what the names of her dastardly murderers ? In what Limerick street did the grandfather of Marshal MacMahon first see the light ? These are but a few of the questions to which the author supplies interesting answers.

We learn, likewise, of families, all too few, like the Sheehys and the Lyonses who, albeit Catholic, managed to preserve a position of some distinction. To this category belonged Morgan O'Dwyer, grandfather of the later Bishop, who was made a Justice of the Peace for the County in 1796. In the gallery of holy and able ecclesiastics whose doings fill the great bulk of Archdeacon Begley's pages Dr. O'Dwyer himself holds a place of honour. His crushing letter to General Maxwell has passed into Irish history. His noble address to the people of Limerick (here printed in full) when they made him a freeman of their city is a classic of sane and dignified nationalism ; whilst his ordinary and really important work, the administration of his see and his campaign for Catholic education, is worthy of enduring record.

If the earlier portion of the volume is darkened by the shadow of the Broken Treaty, the later section provides an abundance of consoling reading. It is a far cry from the building of the " new Mass-house " of St. Mary's parish in 1748 to the building of the new and lovely church on the same site a few years ago ; yet the self-sacrifice and the enthusiasm of the parishioners differed but little in the two epochs. Of

equal inspiration is the story of church-building and school-building all through the diocese. It is to be hoped that the continuator of the history of the diocese, two hundred or more years hence, will have as interesting and as glorious a story to tell (and will tell it even approximately as well !) as this story told by Archdeacon Begley. J. R.

THE JESUITS OF THE MIDDLE UNITED STATES. By Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., Ph.D. 3 vols. New York : America Press. 1938. 2,000 pp. $15.

Their brethren in Europe can but admire and envy the energy and admirable resources with which the Jesuits of North America are building a great educational and scholarly tradition. Here is an imposing history in three stout volumes, splendidly illustrated with photographs old and new and the reproduction of documents in facsimile, and containing no less than two thousand pages of text. It is the work of a Jesuit Father who has been put aside for the task of writing the history of his brethren in the Middle West during the past hundred years, and who has been appointed Research Professor in the Institute of Jesuit History at Loyola University, Chicago. More than once, I have heard the question asked : why do the American Jesuits let laymen, who are not Catholics in faith, write the great story of the American Jesuit Missions ? Here is a fair answer, the only right answer, to that question ; and we congratulate *ex corde*, not only the author but also the Institute of History at Loyola University, on a splendid contribution to American history and to Jesuit history as well. Most fittingly Father Garraghan has dedicated these three volumes to the Father General of the Society " on occasion of the impending quadricentennial of the founding of the Society of Jesus in 1540."

There is no more than a brief preface to remind us of the romantic pioneer days when Marquette and his brethren were opening a new mission-field to the French Jesuits of North America. The story of these volumes opens with the coming of a Belgian Jesuit, Father Charles Van Quickenborne, with some young recruits in 1821. He was appointed master of novices ; and one of his novices in that first year was young Peter De Smet, later to be famous throughout Europe and America as the apostle of the Rocky Mountains. Needless to say, Father De Smet's great work fills many chapters of this history. But he was only one of a group of notable figures, struggling in the midst of many difficulties to lay the solid foundations of a lasting mission. Father De Smet was later in life to be accused of maladministration of the funds of his mission and of little regard for the economies demanded by holy poverty in his work among the Red Indians. Those who saw him at work knew the man and knew his quality. When he was no

longer able to work in Oregon, he was appointed procurator general of the whole province and confounded his critics by a shrewd and careful handling of Jesuit finances. The story is worth recalling as typical of the problems that faced a pioneer in those early days and of the triumph that rewarded those who were not afraid to face those problems boldly.

One chapter in this first volume will have special interest for Irish readers, for it tells the story of the second of two visits which Father Peter Kenney, a notable personality in Irish Jesuit history, made to the United States. On this second occasion he was sent out by the Father General, John Roothaan, in 1831 with orders to erect the former mission of Missouri into a separate province of the Society, directly subject to the General. It was a delicate task, for the Fathers of the Maryland Mission were at first suspicious and jealous of what might be in store for them. But Father Kenney was equal to his work and left St. Louis, after a stay of six months in the Middle West, having won all hearts, if we may judge by the letters here printed. It is significant also that this former Vice-President of Maynooth and Rector of Clongowes was quick to note the neglect of Latin and Greek in St. Louis College. That is a complaint that has long since lost its point, but Father Kenney was everywhere eager to maintain the scholastic traditions of the Jesuit colleges. He it was also who ruled that the Fathers of the Missouri Mission need no longer wear the soutane, and his domestic regulations, so Father Garraghan assures us, have stood the test of time in many other points of detail for more than a century. On his way back to Europe Father Kenney was all but appointed Bishop of Cincinnati—an honour which he escaped, as he had eluded efforts to make him Bishop of Philadelphia in 1820.

The later chapters of these volumes bring the story down to the centennial year of the Missouri Mission. Much of what is here printed must inevitably have special interest for American readers. But the tale of steady progress in so many fields of work, most notably perhaps in the educational field, makes impressive reading. Irish names recur more than once in the story, though there are also many Belgian and German names. One of the last names to be commemorated is the late Father Francis J. Finn—"the discoverer of the American Catholic boy," as he was called by Maurice Francis Egan; and another familiar name to be noted is Father Edward F. Garesché, whose work for Our Lady's Sodality and for the Medical Missions has not yet been ended. These names are guarantee sufficient, among many others that might be chosen, that the old traditions of zeal, energy and initiative are still alive and strong among the Jesuits of the Middle West. And Father Garraghan must allow us to add his own name as a further and no less convincing witness to that same truth. A. G.

GODS OF THE GENTILES. By George C. Ring S.J. Milwaukee: Bruce. 1938. $3.50.

It is a commonplace that modern European civilisation has a double origin: on the one hand in the secular culture of Greece and Rome and on the other in the religion of Palestine. What is not so easily recognised is the fact that Greek and Roman culture itself goes back in great measure to the far older civilisations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Greek originality was only the most important element in a manifold tradition, which drew from the East not only in early times but almost to a greater extent at the period when, to the horror of Roman moralists, "in Tiberim defluxit Orontes." This holds good especially in regard to pagan religion. When Christianity won its final victory, its rival was no longer the ancient polytheism of Greece and still less the simple agrarian piety of early Rome, but a vast and formless synthesis of traditions and beliefs deriving from the distant Bronze Age in the lands of Sumer and Akkad and in the valley of the Nile.

For the student of the history of paganism there is therefore need of such a work as Dr. Ring's, which, while using the comparative method, confines itself as regards its material to these especially fruitful regions. The present book falls naturally into five parts devoted in succession to Babylon and Assyria with their Sumerian predecessors, Persian Zoroastrianism, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. It is intended mainly for popular consumption, but its scope makes it a convenient instrument for the non-specialist scholar in the subject. The treatment is fair and adequate and, except in one particular, well abreast of modern scientific results. The exception is Rome, where the author relies very largely on the excellent and attractive work of Warde Fowler and neglects the recent revolutionary conclusions of Altheim. This means that his Roman chapter, while serviceable and reliable up to a point, needs to be supplemented by considerable further reading.

Apart from a few not very important misprints and from such oddities as the regular substitution of the name "Dis" for "Pluto," the remainder of the work is a sound and accurate summary, being at its best, as far as a non-specialist can judge, in the section on Egypt and at its worst on Persia, where the peculiar character of Zoroastrianism lends itself less well to summary treatment. It is in the latter part also that a very distressing peculiarity, which affects the whole work, is most apparent. This is a combination of misplaced facetiousness and a violent tendency towards slang. The facetiousness becomes particularly tiresome in a number of entirely unnecessary references to modern German race-theories and such-like; Hitler is actually mentioned by name, and the author seems to take strong exception to the ancient Persians merely because their name, Aryans, is used by German propagandists. The tendency to slang is all over the book

and acts as a continual irritant. It is by no means merely a case of vigorous American colloquialism, but of the constant occurrence of words and phrases like "pixilated," "to boondoggle a holiday," "Ahriman and his'n" and other emanations from the cinema. A case of near-slang which is positively misleading is the sentence on p. 235: "From Hesiodic taboos, they (the Pythagoreans) adopted a variety of rules for the *Kosher* and the unclean." It is difficult to decide how to class such oddities in spelling as "theofagy," or "fusis" to represent the Greek word for "nature." A useful book is marred by the frequency of linguistic tricks which give the reader an uncanny feeling that Mr. Damon Runyon has taken up science. M. T.

CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Edited by S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, M. P. Charlesworth and N. H. Baynes. Vol. XII. The Imperial Recovery. 35s. Vol. V of Plates. 15s. Cambridge: University Press. 1939.

So the *Cambridge Ancient History* has been completed after sixteen years of continuous production; and with it the great series of the three *Cambridge Histories* has been brought to a worthy close. Like the rest of the world, we have grumbled from time to time at the weight of these imposing and learned volumes or at some particular section of the work which had disappointed our hopes. But all such minor grievances must be forgotten to-day in the genuine thanks and congratulation which every student of history, ancient, medieval or modern, must send to the publishers and editors of this great work. Twelve and a half million words! That is the caption of an advertising leaflet which the Cambridge Press has just issued to announce their success in a great venture. Will the shades of Lord Acton not rise in wrathful protest against such a summary of the work which he planned? Or was he perhaps practical enough, as student and organiser, to understand the intellectual effort required for the planning and completion of so vast a work? Anyhow, the University Press is not weary in well-doing, and announces the speedy addition of two or more large volumes, which will bring the *Modern History* through the four years of the Great War and the twenty years of post-war Europe.

This last volume of the *Ancient History* is well worth praising for its own sake, apart from its place in the series as a whole. One of its four editors, Professor Norman Baynes, was a contributor to the first volume of the *Medieval History* twenty-eight years ago; he is here given the opportunity of saying a final word on the perplexing problem of Constantine's mind and policy. That the *Ancient History* should end so aptly where the *Medieval History* begins, with the reign of a man who, more than any other perhaps, symbolises in his person and fortunes the passing of an old world and the coming of Europe's *Medium*

Aevum, is proof that the series as a whole has been well planned. But the twenty-eight years that lie between those two volumes have been marked by a veritable renaissance of Byzantine studies in England and elsewhere, and Professor Baynes is most competent to summarise the results of this research. More than that, he wins the reader's confidence by a sense of just proportion and a human wisdom that makes his estimate of singular value.

Some of the earlier chapters in this volume make heavy going, for there is no replacing the literary tradition of earlier days, and the *Historia Augusta* is a poor substitute, needing constant critical analysis. A Hungarian scholar, Professor Alföldi, and a German, Professor W. Ensslin, have been allotted the main chapters in this story of the Imperial Crisis and the Recovery under the Illyrian Emperors. That is fitting, for much of our knowledge comes from the patient work of a host of German and Central European scholars, and from new material that has been won by constant excavation of the Roman *limes*, the roads, bridges and other monuments of the Late Empire. Another more famous German scholar, Hans Lietzmann of Berlin, tells the story of Western Christianity during the third century, summarising with great skill the evidence of the *Acta Martyrum* and tracing (not always according to Catholic principles) the growth of Catholic doctrine and Roman liturgy at the same time. The treatment of the Eastern Church, where intellectual life predominates over the practical issues of government, has been left to an eminent Anglican scholar, the late Professor F. C. Burkitt.

Some of the chapters open vistas down avenues that will be less familiar. Modern discoveries have added much to our knowledge of Mani and his Manichaean sect: Professor Burkitt summarises this new knowledge in a valuable section. M. Bidez of the Belgian Academy writes on the late Greek novel and the Alexandrian school of Neo-Platonists. Dr. Oertel of Bonn and Mr. Mattingly of the British Museum explain Imperial economics and the problems of late Roman coinage; and Professor Nock of Harvard describes the various pagan cults that were already failing to rival the rapid advance of Christian worship. It will be seen that Lord Acton's ideal of international co-operation has not been lost sight of in this last volume; and the lessons of Ancient History as a whole have been finely summarised in a brief but pregnant Epilogue.

Mr. Seltman, who has edited all five volumes of plates as companions to the twelve volumes of the *Ancient History*, covers the last two volumes of the text in this concluding set of illustrations. There is a good selection here of archaeological material concerning the "Barbarians" from Northern Europe whose inroads fill so many chapters in the text. But the average reader will be more interested

in the remarkable series of plates which have been chosen to bring before his eyes the amazing development of late Roman art. Why should the art of plastic composition have been so speedily lost? And with it the technical mastery of perspective? And that at a time when Roman engineers and architects were building works that still excite wonder and awe? Above all, why does the general impoverishment in artistic tradition coincide with an astounding growth in the power of expressionist portraiture? Let the reader look at the dreamy Alexander Severus of the Vatican Museum, or the hard-faced Decius from the Capitoline, or the amazing colossal head of Constantine himself now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. Is it due to Oriental influences? Or to some new vital force that is breaking through the conventions of Graeco-Roman art? And, if he is interested in the religious history of the period, let him contrast some of the admirable Christian sarcophagi from the Lateran with the curiously degenerate statuette which has been chosen to adorn the outer cover of this volume. To quote Mr. Seltman's preface, "the figure is robed as Venus, has the horns of Io or Hathor, the plumes of Isis, a pillar like that of Athena Parthenos, and the rudder and cornucopia of Tyche." A strange contrast indeed, when compared with the naive figures of the Good Shepherd or the 'Orante' which Christians loved to place over their tomb. A. G.

HENRY GRATTAN AND HIS TIMES. By Stephen Gwynn. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1939. 15s.

ADMIRERS of Mr. Stephen Gwynn's painstaking research and restrained criticism will not be disappointed with this new book, a very able survey of Henry Grattan's career and of the stirring period during which he lived. Dr. Johnson wrote somewhere, in a passage as antithetical as Grattan's oratory, that there are many invisible circumstances about a man's life which "are more important than public occurrences." The trouble about Grattan, from a biographer's point of view, is that those of his private circumstances which have not remained invisible do not help very much to recapture his personality, that necessary factor of all first-rate biography. His private life was quiet, his private letters on the whole are rather dull, and his poetry, like his early speeches, is consciously imitative. He had, as Byron said, a harlequin delivery. He had an odd appearance and an odd walk:—

> "Bless your long chin and long nose,
> Bless your eyes so yellow,
> Bless your limping toes."

wrote some unknown scribe of a forgotten paper on the occasion of his marriage. But he had no Boswell to record those many details which would fill in the picture and make it live again. A great deal of

Grattan, including his duelling, was more conventional than characteristic, and the elixir which we call personality is to be found almost wholly in his speeches, which were undoubtedly public occurrences.

However, Mr. Gwynn's book is not concerned solely with the man himself, and this is fortunate, for he brings to light many facts which tell us more about Grattan's times than was generally known before. The extracts from Sir Laurence Parson's diary, which are rather laboriously inserted, do not come under this heading; but excellent use has been made of the newspapers of Grattan's day: pasquinades and caricatures are reproduced and arranged to good effect. One can learn something of Yorick from the gravediggers. Indeed, some of the doggerel verses quoted here are almost a gravediggers' dirge for Grattan's dead opportunities:—

> "From all our corps we'll drive him out,
> Since now we see he has turned about,
> To the devil we pitch him, now, now, now."

"The popular treatment of Grattan," writes Mr. Gwynn, "was indeed an outstanding example of democratic fickleness and incoherence." But the fact is that Grattan, as Tone said, had bungled badly in not securing what his brilliant leadership of the Volunteers had won, and the Volunteers knew it. It was indeed typical of a discredited constitutionalist to try to muzzle his critics, including Flood, by a motion stating that his Constitution was sacrosanct and that all who stated otherwise were traitors.

Of Grattan's constructive work for a united Irish nation, Mr. Gwynn is fully appreciative, and some of his remarks about what Grattan would think about Irish affairs today are very much to the point. "He would denounce with equal fervour whatever made for division among the people of Ireland," he writes, "whether it sought justification in Gaelic tradition or the principle of Protestant ascendancy. Among all the voices that memory possesses, none would have found so rich a response in his mind as that saying of Parnell's: 'We cannot spare one Irishman'."

It was the drowning of Grattan's eloquent appeals for toleration and reform by the voices of the Beresfords and of the Fitzgibbons that made inevitable the disappearance of the class which Grattan represented in his way, and they in theirs. R. McH.

English Literature

APPROACH TO SHAKESPEARE. By D. A. Traversi. London: Sands. 1938. Pp. 152. 6s.

DIFFERENT ages make their selections of what means most to them in Shakespeare. Not very long ago it was some of the histories, the middle comedies, the tragedies (with *Hamlet* as the peak); as for the

late romances — well, they were beautiful, but dramatic life was waning in them. Now what is preferred is the tragedies, with emphasis on *Troilus* and with *Antony and Cleopatra* as peak, and the romances. Why the change? The former group pleased Romantics and Victorians because they were interested above all in character. They liked the plays that acted well; and their criticism was chiefly psychological analysis. Today, it is Shakespeare's language and imagery that chiefly excite, and these reach their height in the second group.

Some of the new criticism is of doubtful value. *Poetry is a form of words* say certain moderns; when they reduce Shakespeare, of all poets, to *that*, the result cannot be satisfying. Of Mr. Wilson Knight's "interpretations" it is hard to speak briefly, there is so much good and so much bad in them. He abandons himself to the *atmosphere* of the play and thence interprets. Sometimes he gets a true inspiration, but not always: *Hamlet* gives him a sense of corruption, decay—whence does it come? It must be from Hamlet, contaminated by the touch of his dead father and bearing the embassy of death to the cheerful and decent court of Denmark! Thus can atmosphere blind one to plain facts of character and action.

Mr. Traversi has perhaps allowed himself to be convinced too easily on certain points. "If a writer's intention is apparent in his choice of subject and general treatment, it has an even closer relation to the words and phrases in which he expresses himself." How and why? And is not *choice of subject* a loose description, does not the poet *make* that quite as much as he makes verse and phrase? But we are soon reassured. Mr. Traversi acknowledges the supreme importance of plot and character; and, in most cases, treats the plays as wholes, though his approach is from what may be called the poetic side. He expounds briefly the new method. The old method insisted on character interpretation; it was analytic. The new tries to be synthetic, to study a balanced poetic and dramatic whole; considering how character is functional to a presiding poetic mood, which expresses itself at the same time in a special concatenation of imagery and of symbols. I think the idea originated with Coleridge (*Biogr. Lit.* ch. xv.), though in his own Shakespeare criticism he chiefly analysed character.

The worth of Mr. Traversi's book will perhaps be best suggested by examining how he fares with certain plays. On *Henry IV* his suggestions are valuable. The First Part is immature Shakespeare, in that the characters are studied individually, not subdued to a poetic organism; only Falstaff is felt to draw life directly from the poet. In the Second Part begins a decisive change: "Loyalists and rebels have become, not merely acute poetical studies, but complementary aspects of a poetic universe created by Shakespeare and unified by the power of his growing personal experience." Upon the Sonnets he says

some excellent things, but one would like to see them worked out more fully. About *Hamlet* I must think him wrong. "A frustration like that of *Troilus*, like that of *Hamlet* can never make a totally coherent play, because it implies that experience is not mastered, not dominated by the poet's creative activity." Is there not a logical flaw in those italics? The frustration of Hamlet need not mean the frustration of *Hamlet*: cannot a poet successfully dramatize frustration? As though not himself content with that sweeping reason why *Hamlet* had to fail, Mr. Traversi adds the suggestion that it was too hard a task to graft subtlety on a crude Elizabethan revenge theme.

Macbeth receives an admirable chapter, the best in the book. Mr. Traversi finds a particular interest in *Lear*, as Mr. Tillyard has lately done, and for the same reason: it contains in embryo many effects which were to be developed in the last plays. Like them, it is a play about two generations, with estrangement between them, and it contains the suggestion (made in the scene of Lear's reconciliation with Cordelia, withdrawn by their death) of another ending to folly and evil than the death of the chief characters—expiation, reconciliation, peace. Like the last plays, again, *Lear* tends to symbolism (*sleep, music, fresh garments*, in the awakening scene, etc.). Mr. Traversi thinks *Lear* faulty in that the reconciliation, that triumph of poetic harmony, is nullified by the close; his view being that Shakespeare did that out of tragic convention or unresolved bitterness. But is that right? After all, *Lear* is tragedy and ends in death because of its first three acts; they would have to be altered throughout before it could become a *Winter's Tale*. And why the wish that a poet should hurry to his final goal, as if that were better than the stages on the way?—I wonder that none of the critics who have been making out the line of development from tragedy to romance has noticed, in the great scene in which Volumnia persuades Coriolanus not to burn Rome, another foreshadowing of the expiation-reconciliation mode of ending a play tragically begun. But *Coriolanus* is not a fashionable play just now. On *Antony and Cleopatra*, which is a fashionable play, Mr. Traversi is below his best and slips I think into some of the jargon of atmospheric criticism, from which his style is on the whole free.

On the general character of Elizabethan language, Shakespeare's source, Mr. Traversi writes freshly and well; not less so on the general character of his poetry, which, in the absence of a coherent attitude to life, was necessarily the organisation of an individual experience, the working out of a personal order. Mr. Traversi builds no unwarranted biography out of the poet's phrases, being wisely content to sketch a poetic personality. An excellent little book, and one which leads us to hope that the author will write more on Shakespeare.

J. J. H.

Books Received

Attwater, Donald. Names and Name-Days. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
Arquilliere, H. X. L'Eglise au Moyen Age. (Bloud & Gay, 15 fr.).
Ayscough, John. San Celestino. Cheap Edition. (Murray, 3/6).
Bevenot, Maurice. St. Cyprian's De Unitate. Chapter 4 in the light of the manuscripts. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
Blakely, Paul L. Looking on Jesus. Reflections on the Sunday Gospels. (America Press, $1).
Bronowski, J. The Poet's Defence. (Cambridge University Press, 7/6).
Burrows, Eric. The Oracles of Jacob and Balaam. (Burns Oates, 12/6).
Cammack, J. S. Moral Problems of Mental Defect. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
Carreras, Luis. The Glory of Martyred Spain. (Burns Oates, 6/–).
Chalmette, Charles. Notre Dame des Champs. Mois de Marie. (Beauchesne).
Chevre, Henry. Mon Curé parle. Homélies d'un quart d'heure. (Beauchesne).
Clari, Robert de. La Conquête de Constantinople. (Boccard, pp. 250).
Congar, M. J. Divided Christendom. Problem of Reunion. (Bles, 12/6).
Contenu, Dr. G. L'Epopée de Gilgamesh. Poème babylonien. (L'Artisan du Livre),
Croidys, Pierre. Le Christ en marche au Congo. (Editions Spes, 15 fr.).
Cuthbert, Father. The Mystery of the Redemption. (Burns Oates, 6/–).
Day, Dorothy. From Union Square to Rome. (Coldwell, 6/6).
Desbucquoit, Ach. Avec Dieu Toujours. (Lethielleux, 12 fr.).
Deyck, Camille van. Le Problème Basque en Espagne. (Paris, pp. 19).
Dimier, Louis. L'Evolution contre l'Esprit. (Spes, 15 fr.).
Drinkwater, F. H. Catechism Stories, Teacher's Aid Book. (Burns Oates, 2/6).
Faulhaber, Cardinal. The Women of the Bible. (Coldwell, 7/6).
FitzGerald, Desmond. Preface to Statecraft. (Sheed & Ward, 3/6).
Garnier-Azais, M. Prélat des Ouvriers. Cardinal Manning. (Lethielleux, 12 fr.).
Glenn, Paul J. Cosmology. (Herder, 10/–).
Grandmaison, Leonce and Joseph de Tonquedec. La Théosophie et l'Anthroposophie. (Beauchesne, pp. 189).
Hardman, Sister Anne. Two English Carmelites, 1617-1714. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
Hall, D. J. Romanian Furrow. (Harrap, 5/–).
Harrison, Henry. Ulster and the British Empire 1939. (Browne & Nolan, 10/6).
Hart, Charles (Editor). Causality in Current Philosophy. Proceedings of the American Cath. Phil. Assoc. (Catholic University, $1.50).
Hiriartia, J. de. Le Cas des Catholiques Basques. (Peyre, pp. 45).
Hutton, Graham. Danubian Destiny. Survey after Munich. (Harrap, 7/6).
James, Father. Where is thy God ? (Burns Oates, 5/–).
Janot, J. E. Les Sept Fontaines. (Beauchesne, pp. 196).
Koesters, Ludwig. The Believer's Christ. (Herder, 14/–).
Lattey, Cuthbert. The First Book of the Psalms, 1-41. (Longmans, 5/6).
Lattey, C. (Editor). The Old Testament. Papers read at the Summer School of Catholic Studies. (Burns Oates, 7/6).
Leahy, D. J. St. Augustine on Eternal Life. (Burns Oates, 5/–).
Lods, Adolphe. La Religion d'Israel. (Hachette, 20 fr.).
Macalister, R. A. S. Lebor Gabála Érenn. Part II. (Published for Irish Texts Society by Educational Co. pp. 273).
Macartney, C. A. Hungary and her Successors. (Oxford Press, 25/–).
MacLysaght, Edward. Irish Life in the XVII Century. (Talbot Press, 12/6).
MacManus, M. J. Irish Cavalcade, 1550-1850. (Browne & Nolan, 8/6).
Malegue, J. Pénombres. Glanes et Approches théologiques. (Spes, 15 fr.).
Maritain, Jacques. True Humanism. (Bles, 10/6).
Masure, Eugene. La Grand'Route apologétique. (Beauchesne, 21 fr.).
Merkelbach, B. H. Mariologia. Tractatus de B.V.M. (Desclée de Brouwer, 45 fr.).
Merry del Val, Marquis. Spanish Basques and Separatism. (Burns Oates, 1/–).
Mertens, P. K. The Yellow River runs red. (Herder, 7/6).
Monval, Jean. Les Assomptionistes. (Grasset, 18 fr.).
Moore, Thomas H. Beyond the Altar Rail. (Fordham University Press, $1.25).
Otto, J. Grundung der neuen Jesuitenmission durch Pater Roothaan. (Herder, 16 M).
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Pradera, Victor. The New State. Translated from Spanish. (Sands, 8/6).
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Robinson, Lennox. Killycreggs in Twilight and other Plays. (Macmillan, 7/6).
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Ryan, Desmond. Phoenix Flame. A Study of Fenianism. (Arthur Barker, 10/6).
Soras, Alfred de. L'Action catholique et Action temporelle. (Spes, 12 fr.).
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Tayler, A. and H. The Stuart Papers. (Murray, 12/6).
Tharaud, J. et J. L'Envoyé de l'Archange. (Plon, 18 fr.).

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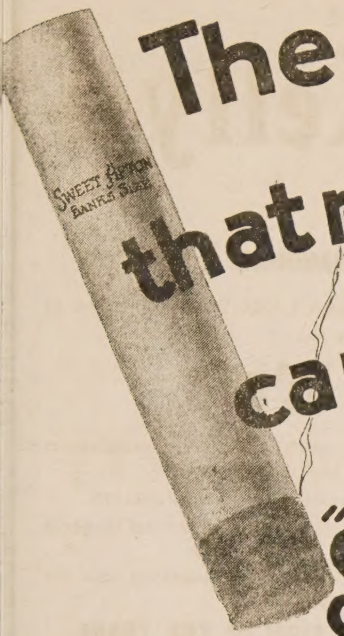

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